

The University of Chicago

EDITIONS E, B₁₋₅, D, AND K OF THE
ANNALS OF ASHURBANIPAL

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE
FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE DIVINITY
SCHOOL IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE
OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

By
ARTHUR CARL PIEPKORN

1933.

Private Edition, Distributed by
THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO LIBRARIES
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE
of
THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

ASSYRIOLOGICAL STUDIES

Edited by
JAMES HENRY BREASTED

with the assistance of
THOMAS GEORGE ALLEN



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2026

https://archive.org/details/IA41548406_0056

HISTORICAL PRISM INSCRIPTIONS
OF ASHURBANIPAL

I

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

THE BAKER & TAYLOR COMPANY
NEW YORK

THE CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS
LONDON

THE MARUZEN-KABUSHIKI-KAISHA
TOKYO, OSAKA, KYOTO, FUKUOKA, SENDAI

THE COMMERCIAL PRESS, LIMITED
SHANGHAI

The University of Chicago

EDITIONS E, B₁₋₅, D, AND K OF THE
ANNALS OF ASHURBANIPAL

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE
FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE DIVINITY
SCHOOL IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE
OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

By
ARTHUR CARL PIEPKORN

Private Edition, Distributed by
THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO LIBRARIES
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

COPYRIGHT 1933 BY THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
ALL RIGHTS RESERVED. PUBLISHED NOVEMBER 1933

COMPOSED AND PRINTED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, U.S.A.



This dissertation, augmented by an appendix by the Rev. Fr. Joachim Mayr discussing the eclipse of Bv 5-7, has appeared in the "Assyriological Studies" of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago under the title *Historical Prism Inscriptions of Ashurbanipal. I.*

TO
MY PARENTS

PREFACE

This study, one of the preliminaries to a history of the reign of Ashurbanipal which the writer is projecting, is intended to appear in two parts. The first, herewith presented, contains the text, in transliteration and translation, of Editions **E**, **B₁₋₅**, **D**, and **K** of the historical prism inscriptions, as far as it is available at present. The second part is planned to contain those sections of the later editions—**C**, **F₁₋₅**, and **A**—which differ from or supplement the earlier texts, together with a consideration of some sixty miscellaneous Oriental Institute prism fragments (Nos. A 8102-61), all apparently from the reign of Ashurbanipal, which have not been accounted for in the other editions. A complete concordance to the Assyrian texts of both groups is likewise planned for the second part.

With the exception of Rm 1, K 2732, and a small number of other fragments in the British Museum, all of them definitely exhibiting the text of Edition **A**, the writer has examined and transliterated (or collated) all available Ashurbanipal fragments identified as such in the Oriental Institute, the Kouyunjik Collection of the British Museum, the Near East section of the Staatliche Museen in Berlin, and the Iraq Museum in Baghdad.

In the preparation of this study it has been the writer's privilege at one time or another to enjoy the advice, aid, and counsel of practically every member of the Oriental Institute staff. Particular thanks are due to Professor A. T. Olmstead for suggesting the project and for his freely given help and encouragement at every stage in its progress; to Professor Edward Chiera for permission to publish the fragments in the Oriental Institute, for the use of the transliterations which he had made of a considerable number as the first step in their publication, and for his ready assistance at all times; to Professor Arno Poebel, Assistant Professor Arnold Walther, and Dr. T. George Allen for examining the manuscript and making many valuable suggestions and corrections. The writer is especially indebted to Assistant Professor F. W. Geers. His unfailing helpfulness, in both Chicago and London, coupled with his intimate knowledge of and experience with

Sargonid historical inscriptions, solved many a knotty problem. A really adequate acknowledgment would demand recognition of his aid on every page. To the kindness of Professor James Henry Breasted, director of the Oriental Institute, this study owes the possibility of its publication.

Outside the Oriental Institute staff the writer is under obligation to Mr. Sidney Smith, curator of Egyptian and Assyrian antiquities in the British Museum, for graciously permitting the examination of the Ashurbanipal fragments in his care and for checking a number of readings and verifying several joins suggested by the writer after his return to America; to the Trustees of the British Museum for permission to use and publish certain still unpublished fragments; to Dr. Hans Ehelolf for courteously according the privilege of collating the fragments in the Vorderasiatische Abteilung of the Staatliche Museen in Berlin; to Dr. Julius Jordan, director of the Iraq Department of Antiquities, for his kindness in permitting the writer to study and copy the Baghdad pieces; and to the Reverend Father Joachim Mayr, of Walchsee, Tyrol, Austria, for consenting to the inclusion of his study on the lunar eclipse referred to in **B v 5-7** as an appendix to this first part.

ARTHUR CARL PIEPKORN

BASHIQA, IRAQ
March 25, 1933

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
ABBREVIATIONS	xiii
INTRODUCTION	1
EDITION E	8
Date	8
Contents	8
Relation to Other Editions	9
Text	9
Transliteration and Translation	10
EDITION B	19
Date	19
Contents	20
Relation to Other Editions	22
Text	23
Transliteration and Translation	28
Additional Datings	90
Variant Conclusions	90
EDITIONS B ₂₋₅	94
EDITION D	95
Date	95
Contents	95
Text	95
Transliteration and Translation	97
EDITION K	101
Date	101
Contents	101
Text	101
Transliteration and Translation	102
APPENDIX: The Lunar Eclipse of July 13, 653 B.C. <i>Joachim Mayr</i> . . .	105

ABBREVIATIONS

- AJSL* American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures (Chicago etc., 1884—)
- Bauer Bauer, Theo. Das Inschriftenwerk Assurbanipals vervollständigt und neu bearbeitet (2 vols.; Leipzig, 1933)
- Bezold, *Catalogue*
Bezold, Carl. Catalogue of the Cuneiform Tablets in the Kouyunjik Collection (5 vols.; London, 1889–99)
- CT* Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets, etc., in the British Museum (London, 1896—)
- Harper, *Letters*
Harper, Robert Francis. Assyrian and Babylonian Letters Belonging to the Kouyunjik Collection of the British Museum (14 vols; London, 1892–1914)
- Olmstead, *Historiography*
Olmstead, Albert Ten Eyck. Assyrian Historiography, a Source Study (Columbia, Mo., 1916)
- PSBA* Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology (40 vols.; London, 1878/79–1918)
- R Rawlinson, Sir Henry. The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia (5 vols.; London, 1861–84)
- RdA* Reallexikon der Assyriologie (Berlin, 1928—)
- George Smith, *History*
Smith, George. History of Assurbanipal, Translated from the Cuneiform Inscriptions (London, 1871)
- Streck, *Assurbanipal*
Streck, Maximilian. Assurbanipal und die letzten assyrischen Könige bis zum Untergange Niniveh's (3 vols.; Leipzig, 1916)
- Thompson, *Prisms*
Thompson, R. Campbell. The Prisms of Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal Found at Nineveh, 1927–28 (London, 1931)
- WKA* Winckler, Hugo. Sammlung von Keilschrifttexten. III. Die Keilschrifttexte Assurbanipals (Leipzig, 1895)

INTRODUCTION

Not the least interesting or important chapter in Professor Olmstead's significant *Assyrian Historiography* (Columbia, Mo., 1916) is the seventh, entitled "Ashur bani apal and Assyrian Editing." Although written in a day when the only collections of Ashurbanipal's historical inscriptions were George Smith's *History of Assurbanipal* (London, 1871), Samuel Alden Smith's sketchy publication of fragments (*Die Keilschrifttexte Asurbanipals, Königs von Assyrien* [Leipzig, 1887-89]), and the autograph copies of fragments of Editions A and B in Winckler's *Die Keilschrifttexte Assurbanipals* (Leipzig, 1893), supplemented with scattered additional texts strewn through half-a-dozen books and periodicals,¹ *Assyrian Historiography* set forth the correct order and interrelation of the various editions of Ashurbanipal's historical records in such a fashion that later finds have altered the final result but slightly.

Since then there have been made accessible to American students the sections of the annals published by V. Scheil, from squeezes supplied by his brother Sébastien, as appendixes to his *Le prisme S d'Assarhaddon, roi d'Assyrie 681-688* (Paris, 1914),² and Maximilian Streck's monumentally industrious compilation of all the Ashurbanipal fragments (letters and omens excepted) available up to August, 1915.³ Though both these works had been published before Professor Olmstead's study was off the press, it was not until later, due to the war, that they became available to students in this hemisphere.

¹ Such as the three fragments in *Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der K. Museen zu Berlin* I (Leipzig, 1907), copied by Arthur Ungnad.

² B iv 3-14, v 83-93; F i 30-32, 35-38, 60-61, ii 45-46, v 34-38. The plates at the end of the work reproduce squeezes of part of column ii of A 8022 (F i 30-ii 20), possibly an F₁ fragment, on Plate 6; and column ii of A 8077 (F ii 28-62), an F₂ fragment, and part of column iii of A 8046 (F v 19-43), an F fragment, on Plate 7.

³ *Assurbanipal und die letzten assyrischen Könige* (3 vols.; Leipzig, 1916).

More recently we have had publications by Clay,⁴ Meek,⁵ Scheil,⁶ A. W. A. Leeper,⁷ Thompson,⁸ Essad Nassouhi,⁹ and Weidner.^{9a} The careful work of the late Professor Daniel David Luckenbill in preparing the translation of Ashurbanipal's inscriptions for his *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia* (2 vols.; Chicago, 1926-27)¹⁰ and the no less painstaking labors lavished on these materials by Dr. F. W. Geers of the Oriental Institute in indexing them for the Assyrian Dictionary likewise shed new light on a number of complex problems.

At that, there still remained untouched several hundred fragments in the Kouyunjik Collection of the British Museum,¹¹ while the purchase of several hundred more pieces by the Oriental Institute of the

⁴ *Yale Oriental Series, Babylonian Texts* I (New Haven, 1915) No. 42, transliterated and translated by Ungnad in *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* XXXI (1917/18) 33-37. The text is a votive inscription to Ishtar of Erech. A duplicate has been published by H. F. Lutz, *University of California Publications in Semitic Philology* IX, No. 8 (Berkeley, 1931) 385 ff.; cf. Meissner's observations in *Archiv für Orientforschung* VIII (1932) 51.

⁵ *Journal of the American Oriental Society* XXXVIII (1918) 167-75.

⁶ *Revue d'Assyriologie* XVIII (1921) 95-97; a votive inscription to Nabû.

⁷ *CT* XXXV (1920) Plates 9-50, comprising miscellaneous inscriptions, some of which have been transliterated and translated by John A. Maynard in the *Journal of the Society of Oriental Research* VI (1922) 99-105; VII (1923) 21-26.

⁸ *Prisms*, pp. 29-36 (Plates 14-18).

⁹ *Archiv für Keilschriftforschung* II 97 ff.; *Mitteilungen der Altorientalischen Gesellschaft, Berlin* III¹⁻² (1927) 34-35.

^{9a} *Archiv für Orientforschung* VII (1931) 1-7.

¹⁰ II 290-407.

¹¹ Most of these fragments have now been published in the first two volumes of the new series of Landsberger's *Assyriologische Bibliothek* by Professor Theo Bauer of the University of Breslau under the title *Das Inschriftenwerk Assurbanipals* (Leipzig, 1933). Unfortunately the present study had already been set up before Professor Bauer's work was available, so that it could not be given the thorough attention which it would otherwise have received. Since both Professor Bauer and the writer had worked over the unpublished British Museum material, it was inevitable that both should, quite independently, come to identical conclusions upon many points. Under the circumstances, it was felt to be inadvisable to emphasize every agreement or difference with a special reference; consequently citations of Professor Bauer's work are normally restricted to (a) bibliographical notices and (b) points where the writer is indebted to Professor Bauer for corrections. In the absence of such a reference it may be assumed in the case of agreements that the writer had reached his conclusion before Professor Bauer's work appeared, in the case of differences that other evidence prevented him from accepting Professor Bauer's decision.

University of Chicago¹² has opened the way to their eventual publication. These two sources of material, particularly the latter, have increased **E** by two and a half times, given us almost the entire text of **B**, provided valuable additions to **D** and **C**, and permitted the reconstruction of **F** down to a few signs.

Past publications of the historical prisms in particular have definitely been somewhat less than satisfying. For one thing, as Professor Olmstead complained in his *Historiography*, "scholars have in general satisfied themselves with the publication and study of the latest edition,¹³ sometimes supplemented by more or less full extracts from the others,"¹⁴ to the inevitable confusion of historians. Worse, the student who did not have access to the originals was unwittingly in the same plight as the practical joker's unhappy victim described by Professor Macalister in his *Century of Excavation in Palestine*, "whose friend had presented her with a dissected picture puzzle into which she had mixed a handful from another set." This situation was particular-

¹² Oriental Institute accession No. 809, under date of December 10, 1928; museum Nos. A 7919-8162. The actual number of fragments has been reduced through the effecting of numerous joins. The fragments were purchased by Professor Chiera from a native dealer in Mosul after having been on the market for a considerable number of years (V. Scheil's brother Sébastien made squeezes of several samples while they were in his possession; two pieces from the same collection are alleged to have found their way into the Yale Babylonian Collection while Professor Clay was in charge, but they have defied Professor Dougherty's diligent search). Although evidence which would suggest that joins could be effected with fragments in the Kouyunjik Collection is totally lacking, the building inscriptions indicate that they must have the same general provenience.

While in Mosul in April, 1933 (after this study had already been set up), it was the writer's good fortune to secure, through the helpful co-operation of Selim Effendi Lewi, of the Iraq Department of Antiquities, fifteen additional Ashurbanipal prism fragments (reduced to thirteen by joins since made) obviously belonging to the group of which the greater part has found its way into the Oriental Institute. Pending the final disposition of these texts, they have, for purposes of citation in this study, been assigned serial reference numbers with the prefix P.

¹³ I.e., **A**.

¹⁴ P. 53. Thus George Smith uses **A** as the basis for his history, citing other editions only as complementary accounts. Streck frequently quotes **B** only in terms of its variations from **A**. There is nothing in the earlier publications to indicate that throughout the historical portion **D** is an almost literal duplicate of **B**, or that **C** in the unpublished sections reproduces to a large extent the text of **B**, or that many of the expansions of **A** in the earlier section of the narrative have been taken over practically syllable for syllable from **C**.

ly pronounced in the case of **B** and its cognates. Tablet and prism fragments were indiscriminately published together, and pieces were assigned to one or the other edition with oftentimes only the flimsiest and frailest justification.¹⁵

To rectify this situation as far as possible, the purpose of the present study is (1) to provide all the available Assyrian historical prism inscriptions of Ashurbanipal in their correct chronological sequence, as far as this sequence can be determined; (2) to assign the various published or otherwise available historical prism fragments to the proper edition in the degree to which our present knowledge makes this possible; (3) to make available for historians the additional information contained in the Ashurbanipal fragments of the Oriental Institute.

The scope of this present inquiry is thus deliberately delimited to exclude (1) all tablet inscriptions, historical or otherwise, except as they come into consideration in restoring a prism text; (2) all historical prisms in the Babylonian character,¹⁶ such as those recently edited by Nassouhi and Weidner, since these are uniformly late and present altogether different problems; (3) all so-called *Prunkinschriften* and inscriptions of a semihistorical character, commemorating only a single historical event, which is generally subordinated to the praise of the monarch's piety as evidenced by his concern for the restoration of some temple.¹⁷

¹⁵ Thus Winckler included **K** (K 1703) among the **B** fragments (*WKA*, pp. 76–78). K 1731, a **D** fragment, was used to reconstruct the building inscription of **C** (Streck, *Assurbanipal*, p. xxix), giving the impression that **C** was a *dār qabal āli* foundation deposit, whereas actually it was placed in the base of one of Esarhaddon's structures which Ashurbanipal rebuilt (**C** x [49,] 68 (*ekallu!*), 72, 79 = Streck, *ibid.* pp. 144 ff., ll. [51,] 65, 69, 76). K 1729, a duplicate of Th 1929–10–12, 2, was assigned to **B** for no other reason than that the curses at the end, couched in some of the commonest formulas in Assyrian literature, agreed with those on K 2732 (Streck, *ibid.* p. xxvi; III R No. 34, 96–97; *PSBA* XXVII 98). The list of such confusions is almost endless.

¹⁶ A 8105 excepted. This small fragment, the only Ashurbanipal inscription in the Oriental Institute collection written in Babylonian, will be published in the Appendix to the second part of this study.

¹⁷ To this last class belongs Th 1929–10–12, 2, published by Thompson (*Prisms*, pp. 29–36 and Plates 14–18), of which the following are duplicates in whole or in part:

K 1729 (dated the sixth of Ab, eponymy of Nabûšaraḥḥêšu, or nearly seven weeks before the Thompson prism)

K 1769+DT 100 (Bauer, Plates 19–20 and p. 29)

K 1837 (Bauer, Plate 20 and p. 29)

K 2664 (Bauer, Plates 26–27 and pp. 34–35)

K 3065 (Bauer, p. 35)

Rm 2, 79

D/T 94 (Bauer, Plate 52 and p. 29)

DT 160 (Bauer, Plate 53 and p. 29)

81–2–4, 43

81–2–4, 167

81–2–4, 176 (Bauer, Plate 56 and p. 29)

81–2–4, 177

81–2–4, 343 (Bauer, Plate 57 and p. 36)

81–7–27, 112

81–7–27, 250

82–5–22, 6 (Bauer, Plate 60 and p. 29)

In addition to the corrections noted by Bauer (pp. 28–29, n. 7), the following should be observed:

i 25 read simply *ú-bil ú-š[e-rib]* (82–5–22, 6)

i 33 read *š4 biltu 20 ma-na ħurāši rušši* (81–7–27, 112)

i 34 read [. . .] *šá-su ú-šal-bi-š* (81–7–27, 112)

i 49 *a-na ma-a-a-al taq-ni-e (ilu)bél (ilu)bēlti-ia* (K 1729)

i 50 *ša-kan ħa-ša-di [. . .] e-peš ru-a-me* (K 1729)

i 52 *ina báb [. . .] maš-tak (ilu)šar-pa-ni-tum* (K 1729)

i 53 *ša ku-uz-bu sa-al-ĥu* (K 1729)

ii 29 read the last word *im-ma-al-d[u]* (A 8115+K 3065; cf. Bauer, p. 28, n. 7)

ii 30 *um-mi a-lit-ti la ba-na-at ina līb-bi-ša* (A 8115+K 3065)

ii 38 *nišē(meš) ar-ku-ti bīt (ilu)šin* (K 3065 collated)

ii 39 *ša (I.ilu)šul-ma-nu-ašaridu* (A 8115+K 3065)

ii 40 *apal (I)aš-šur-nāšir-apli šarru pa-ni* (A 8115+K 3065)

Lines iii 19–25 admit of restoration from 81–2–4, 343 as follows:

iii 19 [*qí-rib*] *ninua(ki)* [*ša (I)aš-šur-a*] *ħa-iddina* (cf. Bauer, pp. 28–29, n. 7)

iii 20 *šār (mātu)ašur(ki)* [*abu bānu-u-a e-pu-šu*]

iii 21 *il-li-ku-ma la-b[a-riš]*

iii 22 *e-na-aḥ-ma i-qu-pa iqa[ráte(meš)-šu]*

iii 23 *eširtu šu-a-[tu a-n]a si-ħir-ti-šu*

iii 24 *ar-šip-ma ú-šak-li[l a-na eš]-ši-šu*

iii 25 (*išu*)*gušûrē(meš) (ižu)šurmenî širâti(meš)*

Further corrections are:

iii 50 restore end of line *eri nam-ri* (A 8011)

iii 51 restore end of line (*ilu*)*nin-á-gal (ilu)guškin-ban-[da]* (A 8011)

iii 52 restore end of line *nak-liš ú-še-piš* (A 8011)

iv 18 the last word should be *līb-bi-ia* (B i 13)

v 27 the last word is simply *at-mu-uḥ* (Rm. 2, 29+81–2–4, 177)

v 33 restore end of line (*ilu*)*ištar bēlti-ia* (Rm 2, 79)

v 44 read *ina arḥi šal-me úmē(me) še-me-e* (E vi 5)

The gap in column vi is nearly filled by three British Museum fragments: 82–5–22, 6 (cf. Bauer, p. 29):

vi 21 [. . . *pálē*](*meš*)-*ia*

In the texts which follow, the oldest edition for a given passage is always made basic, and later versions which follow the older edition more or less literally are quoted as variants. Additions of more than one line in later recensions are printed as part of the later edition, not as variants of the older.

Since for all versions except **A** there is no prism sufficiently preserved to admit its being made the standard, the texts which follow are frankly and necessarily "resultant," the accepted reading being that which is represented by the majority of texts of a given recension. The citation of variant fragments implies a greater or at least an equal number of witnesses to the reading of the text. Where the variant is of real importance, the evidence for all readings is quoted in full.

-
- vi 22 [. . .]-e-ru
 vi 23 [. . .] *ga-ri-ia*
 vi 24 [. . .]-nu *ra-bi-ti*
 vi 25 [. . . *i-na*]*m-bu-u la-be-el*
 Rm 2, 79+82-5-22, 6:
 vi 26 *a-x*[. . .] *ú-šar-ra-mu*
 vi 27 *lik-šu-da qâtâ(II)-a-a*
 Rm 2, 79+81-2-4, 177+82-5-22, 6:
 vi 28 *a-na arkat ûmê(me) mârê(meš) mâr-mârê(meš)*
 vi 29 *mârê(meš) û mârê(meš)*
 vi 30 *ina šarrâni(meš) mârê(meš)-ia*
 vi 31 *ša ašur (ilu)nin-lil ut-tu-šu-ma*
 vi 32 *a-na be-lut mâti u [ni]šê(meš)*
 vi 33 *i-nam-bu-u z[i-k]ir-šu*
 vi 34 *e-nu-ma é-à-ki-tu [šu-a-t]u*
 Rm 2, 79+81-2-4, 177:
 vi 35 *i-lab-bi-ru-ma i-[na-ḥa]*
 vi 36 *an-ḥu-us-sa l[u-ud-diš]*
 vi 37 *mu-šar-u ši-ṭir šumi-ia li-mur-ma*
 vi 38 *šamnê(meš) lip-šu-us (immeru)ni[qê liq-qi]*
 81-2-4, 177:
 vi 39 *a-na áš-ri-šu [lu-tir]*
 vi 40 *[m]a-la i-na mu-šar-[e an-ni-e]*

Aside from its intrinsic value, Th 1929-10-12, 2 is of considerable importance in proving that what Streck calls the tenth column of **C** (*Assurbanipal*, pp. xxviii, 146 f., 408 f.) is really the first, as George Smith had contended as early as 1875 (*Assyrian Discoveries* [New York, 1875] p. 377). Whether Streck was misled by the inaccurate reconstruction of the first column of K 1794 in the British Museum, which allows space for about sixteen lines (eighteen according to Streck, *op. cit.* p. 409), while the corresponding lines of Th 1929-10-12, 2 occupy only ten, or by Samuel Alden Smith's statement (*Keilschrifttexte Asurbanipals Königs von Assyrien* II [Leipzig, 1887] 18) cannot be decided.

Purely orthographic variations between editions and between various fragments of the same edition are not noted, except in cases where they are of moment; the fuller spelling is preferred to the less full, a syllabically written word to the word sign, the more frequent to the rarer sign;¹⁸ *ša* and *šá*, *šu* and *šú*, *ia* and *ía*¹⁹ are regularly rendered by the respective unaccented syllable, since no importance attaches to these alternating signs, which are entirely interchangeable. The constructs of *šarru*, *abu*, and *rabû* are distinguished from the syllable signs *šar*, *ab*, and *rab* by appropriate accents: *šâr* (also for *šar_A*), *âb*, and *râb*.

The sources of all restorations which are more than a syllable in length or which affect the root of the word are indicated in the apparatus.

The sign ¶ indicates the point where another recension is introduced as a witness to the text; the sign § indicates where it breaks off or diverges again. The various editions are cited throughout this study by means of boldface letters (**A B C D E F K**).

Notes have been reduced to the barest minimum.

¹⁸ An exception is *û*, which is retained even where variants have *u*.

¹⁹ Particularly frequent in A 7947.

EDITION E

Date.—Although the date is not preserved on any of the four fragments thus far identified, Edition E must be reckoned the oldest historical account in Assyrian¹ that has come down to us from the reign of Ashurbanipal. That it is older than the “Large Egyptian Tablets,”² one of which Olmstead calls F,³ is clear from the fact that the story of Gyges’ embassy in the latter edition lacks the elaborate and vivid detail of the account in E. Since the “Large Egyptian Tablets” cannot be dated much later than the conquest of Thebes,⁴ a date no later than 667 can be assumed for E.

Contents.—Column i: Beginning missing; 1–3 too badly broken for

¹ Since the tablet fragment K 2846 contains a fuller and more detailed account of the Kirbit campaign, which it ascribes to Nûrekallišammu, and since it records no further events of the monarch’s reign, it has generally been dated before Edition E (Olmstead, *Historiography*, pp. 53–54), Winckler even putting it in Ashurbanipal’s *rêš šarrûti*, 668 B.C. (*Altorientalische Forschungen* I [Leipzig, 1893] 475). This fragment, however, is written not in Assyrian but in Babylonian characters (Bezold, *Catalogue*, p. 481; Bauer, Pl. 31).

² KK 228+3081+3084 (Bezold, *Catalogue*, p. 60) and K 2675 (*ibid.* p. 465); latest edition of the two combined in Streck, *Assurbanipal*, pp. 158–74. The fact that these two tablets are duplicates was long overlooked, although Bezold had pointed it out as early as 1886 (*Kurzgefasster Überblick über die babylonisch-assyrische Literatur* [Leipzig, 1886] p. 111). These two tablets are probably library or archival copies of the originals deposited in the foundation of the temple of Sin at Harran (Rev. 37 ff.).

³ K 2675. In this publication F (Bauer’s A^A), following Streck (*Assurbanipal*, p. cdlxvii), designates the edition of Ashurbanipal’s annals promulgated in the eponymy of Nabûšarahhêšu (645 B.C.), sections of which were published for the first time by V. Scheil (*Le prisme S d’Assarhaddon* [Paris, 1914] pp. 43–44, Plates 6–7), and of which the entire text will be published in the second part of this study, as far as it does not agree with Edition B. On K 2675 and the fragmentary stone duplicate found at Babylon (Delitzsch in *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Oriental-Gesellschaft*, No. 17, p. 2, n. 1) see Olmstead, *Historiography*, pp. 54–55.

⁴ Streck (*Assurbanipal*, p. cdlxvi), followed by Weissbach (*RdA* I 204a), gives ca. 664 for the death of Taharka and ca. 663–662 for the fall of Thebes. But Streck attaches too much importance to the account of the “First” Egyptian Campaign of B and A, which in view of the statement of F i 35–38 (*ri-eš šarru-ti-ia i-na maḥ-ri-e gir-ri-ia a-na (mātu)má-gan ù (mātu)me-luḥ-ḥa uš-te-eš-še-ra ḥar-ra-nu (I)taš-da-am-ma-ni-’ šâr (mātu)mu-šur ù (mātu)ku-u-si a-lak gir-ri-ia iš-me-e-ma . . .*) must have taken place before Ashurbanipal’s *rêš šarrûti* (668 B.C.). If Streck’s dates are correct, the silence of both E and the “Large Egyptian Tablets” on the First Elamite Campaign against Urtaku and the First Gambulu Campaign against

restoration; 4–21, résumé of Esarhaddon's conquest of Egypt and Ethiopia; remainder missing. Column ii: Beginning missing; 1–4, flight of Taharka to Thebes; 5–6, capture of the Ethiopian ships and armies by the Assyrian garrison; 7–8, report of this coup to Ashurbanipal; 9–17, mobilization of the Transpotamian forces to strengthen the Egyptian garrison; 18–25 missing; 26 too badly broken for restoration; 27–48, plot of Necho, Šarrulûdâri, and Pakruru against the Assyrian garrison; 49–55, discovery of the plot; remainder missing. Column iii missing. Column iv: Beginning missing; 1–10, Kirbit campaign; 11–14 too badly broken for restoration; remainder missing. Column v: Beginning missing; 1–18, embassy of the Lydian king Gyges; remainder missing. Column vi: Beginning missing; 1–14, standard building inscription, showing that the prism was deposited in the foundation of some temple (or palace); conclusion missing.

Relation to other editions.—The omission of a definite subject in ii 5–6⁵ seems to indicate that this account is taken from an earlier record now lost, but it may simply be a faulty construction parallel to the anacoluthon in v 9 ff. The extant sections of column ii have been reproduced, with minor editorial variations, in the "Large Egyptian Tablets,"⁶ but the only passage which has been retained in later prisms with any degree of literalness is ii 32–51, which is re-edited in both C⁷ and A.⁸

Text.—The following prism fragments exhibit the text of Edition E:

A. IN THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

A 7919 (i 4–18, ii 1–17)

A 7920 (v 1–18, vi 1–14)

B. IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

K 1821 (iv 1–10, v 3–15) published in George Smith, *History*, pp. 76–77, 82–83; Bauer, Pl. 17 and p. 27

K 1828 (i 1–21, ii 26–55); i 1–21 published in III R 29, No. 2; entire text in Bauer, *loc. cit.*

Bêliqîša, which he assigns to *ca.* 666–665 and *ca.* 665–664 respectively, cannot be accounted for. It would be better, considering all this, to assign a date in the neighborhood of 668–667 for the fall of Thebes.

⁵ The passage becomes even more confusing after the editor of the "Large Egyptian Tablets" has omitted the co-ordinating *û* (Obv. 23), resulting in the erroneous translations of George Smith (*History*, p. 40) and Streck (*Assurbanipal*, p. 161).

⁶ Obv. 20–44.

⁷ ii 108 ff.

⁸ i 119–29.

Column i

1 ¹	[	] a(?)
2	[	] -ma
3	[	] šú e a
4	[² (mātu)má-gan-na u (mātu)me-luḫ-ḫa na-gu-u ²] ru-u-qu	
5	[ša ²] a-lak-ku	
6	[(I)ašur]-aḫa-iddina(na) šâr (mātu)aš-šur(ki) abu ba-nu-u-a	
7	[ir]-du-ma il-li-ku qí-rib-ša	
8	[abi]kta (I)tar-qu-u šâr(mātu)ku-u-si iš-ku-nu-ma	
9	ú-par-ri-ru el-lat-su	
10	[(mātu)]mu-šur (mātu)ku-u-si ik-šu-du-ma	
11	[ina ³] la mi-ni iš-lu-la šal-la-as-su	
12	[mātu ³] šu-a-tu ina si-ḫir-ti-ša i-be-el-ma	
13	[a]-na mi-šir (mātu)aš-šur(ki) ú-tir	
14	[šumê ³](meš) âlâni(meš.ni) maḫ-ru-u-ti ú-nak-kir-ma	
15	[a]-na eš-šu-u-te iš-ku- ⁴ na ⁴ ni-bi-is-su-un	
16	ardâni(meš)-šu a-na šarrû-ti (amêlu)šaknu-u-ti	
17	[⁵ eli âlâni(meš) šu ⁵]-nu-u-te ú-pa-qí-du ina lîb-bi	
18	[⁶ biltu man-da ⁶]-at-tu be-lu-ti-šu	
19	[⁶ šat-ti-šam-ma ⁶] ú-kin ši-ru-uš-šu-un	
20	[	] áš-li ⁷ qaq-qu-ra
21	[	] (âlu)mi-im-pi
[Remainder of column missing]		

Column i

1. 2. 3.

⁴[Magan and Meluhḫa,] a distant [district] ⁵[(into) which . . .]
 ⁶[Esar]haddon, king of Assyria, the father who begat me, ⁷[had
 gone] forth and marched—in the midst of it ⁸he accomplished the
 [def]eat of Taharka, king of Ethiopia, and ⁹scattered his army, ¹⁰con-
 quered Egypt (and) Ethiopia, and ¹¹carried off booty (from) him
 [with]out number. ¹²He ruled over that [land] in its entirety and ¹³con-
 verted (it) [in]to a province of Assyria, ¹⁴changed the former [name]s
 of the cities and ¹⁵gave them names [a]new, ¹⁶appointed his servants
 to kingship (and) viceroys¹⁷hip ¹⁷[over th]ose [cities] in the midst (of
 them), ¹⁸⁻¹⁹placed upon them [tribute, gi]fts for his lordship, [yearly].
²⁰[. . . .] *ašlu* of land ²¹[. . . .] Memphis.

[Remainder of column missing]

NOTES FOR COLUMN I

¹ The lines are numbered from the first line which has an identifiable sign.

²⁻² Conjectural.

³ K 3083 (Streck, *Assurbanipal*, p. 216).

⁴⁻⁴ -ra A 7919.

⁵⁻⁵ After Streck, *Assurbanipal*, p. 154.

⁶⁻⁶ George Smith, *History*, p. 35.

⁷ An *ašlu* is equal to 120 *ammātu*, 59.28 meters.

Column ii¹

- 1 [uš]-ši-[ma a-na šu-zu-ub na-piš-ti-šu]
 2 qí-rib (išu)elip[pi ir-kab-ma]
 3 karas-su ú-maš-šir-[ma e-diš ip-par-šid-ma]
 4 qí-rib (álu)ni-' [e-ru-ub]
 5 (išu)elippêti(meš) qa-ra-bi [ma-la it-ti-šu]
 6 ù šabê(meš) tâḥâzi-šu ú-[šab-bi-tu ina qâtê(II)]
 7 (amêlu)mâr-šipri bu-su-r[at ḥa-di-e]
 8 ²ša a-tam-ra² iq-[ba-a ia-a-ši]
 9 (amêlu)ráb-ša-qê (amê[lu]paḥâti(meš))
 10 ù šarrâni(meš) e-bir nâri [ardâni(meš) da-gil pa-ni-ia]
 11 a-di e-mu-qi-šu-nu (išu)[elippêti(meš)-šu-nu]
 12 šarrâni(meš.ni) (mātu)mu-[šur ardâni(meš) da-gil pa-ni-ia]
 13 a-di (išu)elippêti(meš)-šu-nu e-[mu-qi-šu-nu]
 14 a-na ḥul-lu-uq (I)tar-qu-[u]
 15 [u]l-tu qí-rib (mātu)mu-šur (mātu)ku-[u-si]
 16 [eli e]-mu-qi-ia maḥ-ra-[a-ti]
 17 [ú-rad-di-ma] áš-pur a-n[a (álu)ni-']
 18-25³ [Missing]
 26 [š]a(?) a-tam-r[a(?). . .]
 27 ar-ka-a-nu (I)ni-ku-[u (I)šarru-lu-dá-ri]
 28 (I)pa-ak-ru-ru šarrâni(meš) [ša qí-rib (mātu)mu-šur]
 29 iš-ku-nu [abu ba-nu-u-a]
 30 a-di-e ašur ù ilâni(meš) rabûti[(meš) bēlê(meš)-ia]
 31 e-ti-qu-u-ma ip-ru-[su ma-mit-sun]
 ¶AC 32 ¶A ṭa-ab-ti ⁴abi ba-ni-ia⁴ [¶C im-šu-ma]
 33 lib-ba-šu-⁵na⁵ ik-pu-⁶du⁶ [limuttu(tu)]
 34 da-bab-⁷ti⁷ sur-ra-a-ti id-[bu-bu-ma]
 35 mi-lik la tuš-šír ⁸im⁸-li-ku [ra-man-šu-un]
 36 um-ma (I)tar-qu-u ul-tu qí-[rib (mātu)mu-šur]
 37 i-na-siḥ-u-ma at-tu-ni a-ša-[ba-ni me-i-nu]
 38 e-li (I)tar-qu-u šâr [(mātu)ku-u-si]
 39 a-na ša-kan a-di-e u [sa-li-me]
 §C 40 ⁹iš-pu-ru⁹ (amêlu)[rak-bi-e-šu-un§]
 41 um-ma su-lum-mu-u [ina bi-ri-in-ni]
 42 liš-ša-kín-ma ni-[in-dag-ga-ra a-ḥa-meš]
 43 mātu a-ḥi-en-na-a [ni-zu-uz-ma]

Column ii

¹[He went] forth [and to save his life] ²[he board]ed a sh[ip and]
³deserted his camp [and fled alone and] ⁴[enter]ed Thebes.

⁵[All] the warships [that were with him] ⁶and his warriors they
(i.e., the Assyrian garrison in Egypt) [captured with their hands].

⁷⁻⁸A messenger tol[d me] the tidi[ngs of joy] that I should behold(?).

⁹The *rabshakeh*, the g[overnors], ¹⁰and the kings of Transpotamia,
 [servants subject to me,] ¹¹together with their armies, [their ships,]
¹²(and) the kings of Eg[yp]t, servants subject to me], ¹³together with
 their ships, [their] a[rmies], ¹⁴to destroy Taharka ¹⁵[ou]t of Egypt and
 Ethio[pia] ¹⁶⁻¹⁷[I added to] my form[er for]ces [and] sent (them) again[st
 Thebes].

¹⁸⁻²⁵[. . .] ²⁶. . . . [. . .].

²⁷Afterward Nech[o, Šarrulûdâri], ²⁸⁻²⁹(and) Pakruru, kings [whom
 the father that begat me] had set up [in Egypt], ³⁰transgressed the
 oath of Ashur and the grea[t] gods, [my lords,] and ³¹brok[e their sol-
 emn covenant]. ³²[They forgot] the favor of the father who begat me
 (the favor which I had shown them A), [and] ³³their hearts plotted
 [evil]. ³⁴They s[poke] treacherously [and] ³⁵discussed unrighteous pro-
 posals [of their own imagination], ³⁶⁻³⁷saying: "They have driven
 Taharka out [of Egypt], and [how] shall we rem[ain]?" ³⁸To Taharka,
 king of [Ethiopia], ³⁹to compact an oath-bound treaty and [alliance]
⁴⁰they sent [their mounted messeng]ers, ⁴¹saying: "Let brotherhood
 be established [among us], ⁴²and let us [help one another]. ⁴³[We shall

NOTES FOR COLUMN II

¹ Except where some other source is specifically noted, all restorations in column ii are from K 228 + K 2675 Obv. 20-44 (George Smith, *History*, pp. 39-43).

²⁻² So A 7919, as well as the parallel K 2675.

³ The exact extent of this gap cannot be determined; this estimate is based on K 228 + K 2675 Obv. 30-33.

⁴⁻⁴ *e-pu-us-su-nu-ti* A.

⁵⁻⁵ *-nu* E (K 1828) A (Rm 1); *-nu-ti* A (var.).

⁶⁻⁶ *-ud* C A.

⁷⁻⁷ A (Rm 1) om.

⁸⁻⁸ *mi-* A (var.).

⁹⁻⁹ *û-ma'-e-ru* A.

- 44 a-a ib-ba-ši ina bi-ri-[in-ni]
 45 ^{9a}ša um-ma-nat ašur^{9a} ¹⁰gap-[ša-a-ti-ia¹⁰]
 §A 46 iš-te-ni'-[u a-mat limuttim(tim)§]¹¹
 47 a-na na-kás na-piš-[ti-šu-nu ik-ri-mu]
 48 ḫul-lu-qu [a-di la ba-še-e]
 ¶A 49 ¶(amêlu)šu-ut-rêš¹²-ia [a-ma-a-ti an-na-a-te]
 50 iš-¹³mi-e-ma¹³ [¹⁴ik-ki-lu nik-lat-su-un¹⁴]
 §A 51 (amêlu)rak-bi-e-šu-[un a-di šip-ra-a-ti-šu-nu§]
 52 ša e-li [¹⁵(I)tar-qu-u šar (mātu)ku-u-si¹⁵]
 53 a-na ša-kan a-[¹⁵di-e ù sa-li-me iš-pu-ru¹⁵]
 54 iṣ-ba-ta-am-ma [¹⁶e-mur ip-šit sur-ra-a-te-šu-nu¹⁶]
 55 (I)ni-ku-u [¹⁷(I)šarru-lu-dá-ri (I)pa-ak-ru-ru¹⁷]
 [Remainder of column missing]

*Column iii missing**Column iv*¹

- 1 [qu-ra]-di-šu ú-ra-si-bu ina (iṣu)kakki
 2 [imêrê](meš) alpê(meš) ši-e-ni
 3 [šal-l]a-su ka-bit-tu iš-lu-lu-u-ni
 4 [a-na qí]-rib (mātu)aš-šur(ki)
 5 [(I)ta-an]-da-a-a (amêlu)nâgir-šu-nu bal-ṭu-su ina qa-ti
 6 [iṣ-ba]-tu-ni ub-lu-u-ni a-di maḫ-ri-ia
 7 [nišê(meš) u]l(?) -tú(?) âlâni(meš.ni) šu-nu-ti as-suḫ
 8 [i-na] qí-rib (mātu)mu-ṣur ú-ša-aṣ-bit
 9 [nišê(meš) ki-šit-ti] (iṣu)qašti-ia ša mâti ša-ni-tim-ma
 10 [ina (âlu)]kir-bi-it ù âlâni(meš)-šu ú-še-šib

-
- 11 [a-na-ku
 12 []-tim
 13 []-ši
 14 [] šêpê(II)-ia
 [Remainder of column missing]

divide] the land in two, [and] ⁴⁴amon[g us] there shall not be ⁴⁵an[ot]her
 <lord.> Against the hosts of> Assyria, [my] mul[titudes] (the strength
 of my lordship, which I had set up as their allies A), ⁴⁶they plotte[d an
 evil plan] ⁴⁷to cut [their] thro[ats; they set out to accomplish (*lit.*, they
 began to destroy)] ⁴⁸(their) destruction [to the point of annihilation].

⁴⁹An officer (Officers A) of mine heard [of these matters] ⁵⁰and [met
 their cunning with cunning]. ⁵¹He captured the[ir] mounted mes-
 senger, [together with their messages] ⁵²which [they had dispatched]
 to [Taharka, king of Ethiopia,] ⁵³to compact an o[ath-bound treaty
 and alliance], ⁵⁴and [discovered their rebellious plot]. ⁵⁵Necho, [Šar-
 rulûdâri, Pakruru]

[Remainder of column missing]

Column iii missing

Column iv

¹His [war]riors they cut down with the sword. ²[As]ses, cattle, sheep,
³his heavy [spoil] they carried off ⁴[t]o Assyria. ⁵[Tan]dayya, their
 leader, they [to]ok with their hand alive, ⁶brought him before me. ⁷I
 tore away [the people out] of these cities, ⁸settled (them) [i]n Egypt.
⁹[People] of another land whom my bow [had conquered] ¹⁰I made
 dwell [in] Kirbit and its cities.

¹¹[. . .] I ¹². . . ¹³. . . ¹⁴. . . my feet.

[Remainder of column missing]

NOTES FOR COLUMN II

^{9a-9a} So Dr. Geers and Bauer (p. 27). The grammar is most difficult. Possibly we
 have here an error of hearing which has corrupted an original *ša-(nu-)um-ma*
 (<*be-lum a-na um-man* (cf. B v 42)) (<*mātu*)*ašur*. On this emendation (based on C
 and A) the present translation rests.

¹⁰⁻¹⁰ *e-muḡ bēlû-ti-ia ša a-na ki-ri-šu-nu uš-zi-zu* A.

¹¹ A om. ll. 46-47.

¹² A adds (*meš*).

¹³⁻¹³ *-mu-u* A.

¹⁴⁻¹⁴ A om.

¹⁵⁻¹⁶ Cf. ll. 38-40.

¹⁶⁻¹⁶ Cf. A i 130.

¹⁷⁻¹⁷ Cf. ll. 21-22.

NOTE FOR COLUMN IV

¹ Column iv has been restored after George Smith, *History*, pp. 82-83.

Column v

¹[. . .] his [mes]senger wi[th a present] ²approached to ask my health ³to the border of my land. The people of my country looked at him and ⁴said to him, "Who are you, stranger, ⁵whose mounted messenger hitherto ⁶has never blazed a trail to the marches?" ⁷To Nineveh, the city of my lordship, [the people] ⁸brought him to me into my presence. ⁹The tongues of the East and of the West, ¹⁰which Ashur had poured into my hand—¹¹there was no master of his language, and ¹²[his] tongue remained strange, so that ¹³they could not understand his speech. ¹⁴From the boundary of his land [. . .] ¹⁵he brough[t] with him ¹⁶. . . . ¹⁷. . . . ¹⁸. . . .

[Remainder of column missing]

Column vi

¹Upon [. . .] ²his domicile [. . .] ³beyond [the former days] ⁴his dwelling I(?) [widened]. ⁵In a favorable month, [(on) a propitious day,] ⁶I laid its foundation and [. . .]. ⁷From its foundation to [its cornice] ⁸I erected it co[mpletely]. ⁹In future days, among [the kings, my descendants], ¹⁰⁻¹²[whose names] Ashur and [Ishtar] shall pronoun[ce] for the rule of land and [people], ¹³when [this] te[mple(?)] ¹⁴be[comes old and dilapidated]

[Remainder of column missing]

NOTES FOR COLUMN V

¹⁻¹ Conjectural.

² The plural *-kun* probably refers to the people of the land from which the mounted messenger had come.

³ George Smith, *History*, p. 77.

NOTES FOR COLUMN VI

¹⁻¹ C i 93.

²⁻² Cf. Th 1929-10-12, 2 v 44.

³⁻³ B viii 71 ff.

⁴⁻⁴ B viii 79 ff.

EDITION B

*Date.*¹—Six of the available B fragments have dates preserved. Of these, one (A 7997) has retained only the month in which it was written (Sivân) and the title of the eponym (*šaknu*). Four have preserved the name of the eponym under whom they were produced: A 7935 and A 7938, Aḫi-ila-a-a (PAP.DINGIR.A.A), *šaknu* of Carchemish (*Gargamiš*),² the latter giving us the name of the month as well (Ab); K 2732 and 83-1-18, 602 (unpublished), Bêlšunu, *šaknu* of Hindana. The sixth (K 1741) has preserved the month (Tammuz), the title of the eponym (*šaknu*), and a few indecisive traces of the name of the city where he exercised his office.

Aḫilayya, whose name is the last in Canon III, is definitely fixed as the eponym of 649 B.C.,³ and Bêlšunu is universally accepted as his successor in the eponymate.⁴ The eponymy of Nabûšarahḫêšu (645) has

¹ On the basis of the same internal evidence which moved Professor Olmstead to date K 3402 (published III R 35 No. 5), which he calls G (since the preserved section of this tablet is an exact duplicate of F i 57—ii 6, it is probably part of an archival copy of the foundation deposit), between the "Large Egyptian Tablets" and Edition B (*Historiography*, p. 55), the writer was at first inclined to date F (Bauer's A⁴) and its cognates, F₂, F₃, F₄, and F₅, before the B series (*Journal of the American Oriental Society* LII [1932] 304); but the dating on the actual fragments of F makes this assumption untenable. All the F prisms the dates of which have been preserved were written in the eponymy of Nabûšarahḫêšu, viceroy (*šaknu*) of Samaria (*Samirina*). From K 4773 (Johns, *Assyrian Deeds and Documents* II [Cambridge, 1901] Plate 160, No. 297) we learn that Nabûšarahḫêšu was six years after Sagabbu (*PSBA* XXV 88), the third last name in Canon III (*ibid* p. 85). Sagabbu is definitely fixed by external evidence to 651 (*ibid* p. 87), hence Nabûšarahḫêšu must be 645 (*ibid* XXIV 238), three years after the latest date of B.

² That he was viceroy of Carchemish was known as early as 1912, having been established by a sale contract found at Gezer by Macalister (*Memoir on the Excavation of Gezer* [London, 1912] I 27-29; *A Century of Excavation in Palestine* [New York, 1925] p. 189), an occurrence with which Streck was apparently unacquainted (*Assurbanipal*, p. cdlx, where other instances of the same eponym are listed).

³ *PSBA* XXV 88; Streck, *Assurbanipal*, p. cdlx; Weissbach in *RdA* I 207a. Aḫilayya is two years after Sagabbu; cf. n. 1 *supra*.

⁴ *PSBA* XXIV 238; Streck, *Assurbanipal*, pp. cdlv, cdli, 137, n. 6; Ebeling in *RdA* I 482a. In any case a *terminus ante quem* is provided by the Ptolemaic Canon,

falsely been given as a date for **B**,⁵ on the erroneous assumption that K 1729, a duplicate of Th 1929-10-12, 2, is a **B** fragment.⁶

Contents.—i 1-49: Introduction (1-5, titulary and genealogy; 6-15, description of Ashurbanipal as favorite of the gods; 16-26, account of restoration of temples; 27-40, consequent messianic prosperity; 41-49, the dominance of Assyria during Ashurbanipal's reign).

i 50—ii 17: First Egyptian Campaign (50-51, objective of campaign; 52-64, revolt of Taharka, who sets up his capital in Memphis; 65-70, mobilization of the Assyrian troops; 71-77, victory of the Assyrians at Karbaniti; 78-85*a*, terror and flight of Taharka from Memphis; 85*b*-95*a*, conquest of Memphis and reorganization of Egypt; i 95*b*—ii 2, conquest and punishment of the rebel cities, Sais, Binṭiṭi, and Sa'nu; 3-6, capture of Šarrulûdâri; 7-9, death of Taharka in Thebes; 10-17, accession and revolt of Tašdamanê, climaxing in the siege of Memphis).

ii 18-40: Second Egyptian Campaign (18-19, objective of campaign; 20-24, flight of Tašdamanê from before Memphis to Thebes and submission of the Assyrian vassal-kings; 25-28*a*, flight of Tašdamanê to Kipkipi before the Assyrian advance; 28*b*-36, fall of Thebes; 37-38, establishment of Assyrian authority in Egypt; 39-40, return to Nineveh).

ii 41-70: Campaign against Ba'ali of Tyre (41-43, objective and cause of campaign; 44-52, siege of Tyre; 53-61, capitulation of Ba'ali; 62-64, end of siege; 65-66, return to Nineveh; 67-70, effect of campaign on neighboring princes).

ii 71-92: Relations with Arvad, Tabal, and Cilicia (71-81, submission of Yakinlû, Mugallu, and Sandišarme; 82-92, death of Yakinlû and submission of his sons).

which requires the death of Šamašsumukin some time after Tammuz 15, 648 (*PSBA* XXVII 100; A. T. Clay, *Babylonian Records in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan* I [New York, 1912] No. 38, ll. 39-40), an event which had not occurred at the time **B** was written.

⁵ III R 34, 92-95*b*; Streck, *Assurbanipal*, p. 138*a*; Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia* (Chicago, 1927) II 340, n. 1; Bauer, p. 6, n. 14.

⁶ Johns seems to have doubted the character of K 1729 as a **B** fragment, for he states that there is "no certainty from the fact that, so far as preserved, it [K 1729] is a duplicate of K 2732 [**B**], that it was a duplicate all through" (*PSBA* XXVII 98).

ii 93—iii 4: Conquest of the Cimmerians by Gyges with Assyrian aid.

iii 5–15: Campaign against Kirbit (5–9, objective and cause of campaign; 10–15, capture of Kirbit and deportation of the inhabitants to Egypt).

iii 16—iv 2: Campaign against Mannayya (16–18, objective of campaign; 19–22 badly broken; 23–30, Assyrian victory over the Manneans at the border; 31–42, invasion of Mannayya as far as Izer-tu; 43–46, flight of Aḥšêri to Atrana; 47–51, siege and conquest of the capital district; 52–65, subjection of the territories of Paddirî, Arsianiš, and Eristeyana; 66–69, return to Assyria; 70–81, restoration of the border cities of Birrua, Šarruiqbi, and Gusunê to Assyria; 82–85, revolt of the Manneans and death of Aḥšêri; iii 86—iv 2, accession and submission of Ualli).

iv 3–8: Successful foray into Media.

iv 9–17: Unsuccessful attack on Uppume and Kullimmeri by Andaria of Armenia.

iv 18–86: First Elamite Campaign (18–20*a*, objective and cause of the campaign; 20*b*–26, favor shown to Urtaku by Ashurbanipal during the famine; 27–32, hostile propaganda of Bêliqîša of Gambulu and Nabûšumereš; 33–34, Elamite attack in Babylonia; 35–48*a*, verification of the report; 48*b*–53, flight, defeat, and rout of Urtaku; 54–68, death of Urtaku, Bêliqîša, Nabûšumereš, and Mardukšumibni; 69–73, overthrow of Urtaku's dynasty; 74–86, flight of Urtaku's relatives and their supporters before the usurper Teumman).

iv 87—vi 16: Second Elamite Campaign (87–96*a*, objective and cause of campaign; iv 96*b*—v 3*a*, refusal of Ashurbanipal to deliver Urtaku's supporters to Teumman; 3*b*–9, portentous astronomical phenomena—an eclipse of the moon at dawn, accompanied by other unusual manifestations; 10–12, Teumman's illness; 13–24, preparation of the Elamites for battle; 25–49*a*, prayer of Ashurbanipal to Ishtar for succor; 49*b*–77, Ishtar's answer through a seer; 78–90, retreat of Teumman from Bît-Imbî to Susa before the advancing Assyrians; 91–99, Assyrian victory at Tîl-Tuba on the Ulayya; vi 1–3, decapitation of Teumman; 4–5, surrender of Elam; 6–9, Ummanigaš and Tammariṭu installed as kings of Elam and Ḫidalu respectively; 10–16, résumé of the spoil).

vi 17—vii 2: Campaign against Gambulu (17–20, objective and cause of the campaign; 21–38, conquest of Gambulu; 39–42, execution of Massi râ; 43–46, demolition of Šapībêl; 47–69, triumphant return to Nineveh; 70–75, execution of Merodachbaladan's grandson; 76–82, captivity of Dunanu and Samgunu; 83–92, punishment of the Gambulean rebel leaders; vi 93—vii 2, violation of Nabûšumereš's bones).

vii 3–42: Revolt of Ummanigaš (3–29, alliance between Ummanigaš and Šamaššumukin; 30–39, defeat of the coalition's army by the Assyrian garrison of Mangisi; 40–42, death of Ummanigaš).

vii 43–55a: Reign of Tammaritu.

vii 55b–92: Reign of Indabigaš (55b–57, usurpation of the throne by Indabigaš; 58–76, reception of Tammaritu and his party in Nineveh; 77–92, submission of Indabigaš).

vii 93—viii 63: Arabian Campaign (93–98, return of Atarsamain to Yauta'; vii 99—viii 5, revolt of Arabia under the leadership of Yauta'; viii 6–22, subjection of Arabia by the Assyrian garrison; 23–31, flight of Yauta'; 32–38, succession of Abiate' as Assyrian vassal-king; 39–50, defeat of Ammuladdin of Kedar by Kamashaltâ of Moab; 51–63, submission of Nathan of Nabatea).

viii 64–96: Building inscription recording the restoration of the armory (*bît mašarti*).

viii 96–99: Date.

Relation to other editions.—Unfortunately we have no prisms of which we can definitely say that they were written in the two decades intervening between **E** and **B**.⁷ This does not necessarily imply the nonexistence of such documents—they may lie in the foundations of buildings as yet unexcavated at Kouyunjik or elsewhere,⁸ or they may be represented by some of the small and undated fragments which either cannot be located in the present scheme of things⁹ or cannot be distinguished from later editions. At all events, **B** has retained nothing of **E** literally, and in some cases the events themselves are so al-

⁷ The one deposited in the foundation of Êḫulḫul in Harran, represented by the tablet copies K 228+K 2675 (Streck, *Assurbanipal*, pp. 158 ff.), excepted. At best, however, this cannot have been written very much after **E**; see p. 8.

⁸ Êšarra, Êmašmaš, or Êgašankalamma, for instance (**B** i 20).

⁹ Such as those to be given in the Appendix to Part II of this study.

tered in the account that one might almost doubt whether they refer to the same incident. Thus the putting-down of the revolt of Ta-harka, which in **E** is definitely ascribed to the Assyrian garrison in Egypt, has become an exploit personally directed by the king. Similarly, Nûrekallišammu, who directed the Kirbit campaign, has likewise surrendered his laurels to his imperial master.

B is the first of a series of at least four major editions. With **D**, the next in succession, it agrees almost word for word throughout the historical portion. **K**, of which fragments of only four columns are extant, reproduces **B** as far as **B** vi 82. After its column-long introduction **C**—as far as its fragmentary state permits us to judge—follows **B** very closely, except for a few expansions in the Egyptian campaigns, up to **B** vii 2 and again in **B** vii 13–65, **B** vii 77–92, **B** viii 30–43, and **B** viii 58–61. **F** is dependent on **B** for the account of the campaigns against Tašdamanê, Baʿali (and the events recorded in connection therewith), and Aḥšêri. **A** takes over all this, plus the account of the campaign against Taharka, and some of the Arabian campaign, expanding at some points and condensing in others. The marginal sigla in the text below indicate graphically the degree to which **B** influenced the later editions.

For the relation of **B** to **B**₂, **B**₃, **B**₄, and **B**₅, see page 94.

Text.—The text-type of Edition **B** is exhibited by the following prism fragments:¹⁰

A. IN THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

- A 7921 (i 1–2, ii 7–15)
- A 7922 (i 1–4, viii 9–20)
- A 7923 (i 1–6)
- A 7924 (i 1–9, ii 5–14)
- A 7925 (i 2–31, viii 12–38)
- A 7926 (i 9–37, ii 22–37)
- A 7927 (i 14–27, viii 28–35)
- A 7928 (i 45–50)
- A 7929 (i 47–56, viii 56–62)
- A 7930 (i 50–67, v 57–58, vi 38–63, vii 53–93, viii 57–84)

¹⁰ Since **D**, **C**, **K**, and, in a less degree, even **F** and **A** agree with **B** so exactly in many sections that criteria for distinguishing them are few, some of the fragments here listed under **B**, particularly among the smaller ones, probably come originally from prisms exhibiting the text of some other recension. The point is unimportant, however, except as it may affect the making of future joins.

- A 7931 (i 53-59, ii 61-67)
 A 7932 (i 56-71, ii 40-65)
 A 7933 (i 68-72, viii 82-86)¹¹
 A 7934 (i 69-84, ii 60-88, iii 66-94)
 A 7935 (i 74—ii 13, ii 67—iii 9, iii 76—iv 14, iv 71—v 9, viii 75-99)
 A 7936 (i 85—ii 5, ii 88—iii 1)
 A 7937 (i 86-99, viii 79-96)¹²
 A 7938 (i 89-98, vii 91—viii 18, viii 20-22, 83-99)¹³
 A 7939 (ii 3-16, iii 6-11)
 A 7940 (ii 28-40, iii 25-32)
 A 7941 (ii 34-43)¹⁴
 A 7942 (ii 45-47, iii 39-53)
 A 7943 (ii 68-80, iii 66-68)
 A 7944 (ii 77—iii 2, iii 58—iv 2, iv 50-98, v 52-97, vi 66-73)
 A 7945 (ii 78-88)
 A 7946 (ii 79-92, iii 61—iv 1, iv 62-95)
 A 7947 (ii 95—iii 12, iii 97—iv 19, v 1-15, v 94—vi 11, vii 3-18, viii 10-26)
 A 7948 (ii 97—iii 7, iv 11-25, v 15-19)
 A 7949 (ii 99—iii 4, iv 14-45, v 28-52)
 A 7950 (iii 6-37, iv 8-43, v 2-42)
 A 7951 (iii 9-16)
 A 7952 (iii 11-18, iv 23-30)
 A 7953 (iii 26-37)
 A 7954 (iii 26-47, iv 27-43, v 33-43)
 A 7955 (iii 27-49, iv 36-52)
 A 7956 (iii 31-51, iv 43-57)
 A 7957 (iii 40-45)
 A 7958 (iii 51-79, iv 58-92)
 A 7959 (iii 73-80, iv 65-89, v 67-80)
 A 7960 (iii 93—iv 3, v 4-13)
 A 7961 (iv 3-12, iv 99—v 16, vi 8-15)
 A 7962 (iv 6-12, 16-17, v 1-17)
 A 7963 (iv 22-29)
 A 7964 (iv 34-37, v 37-46)
 A 7965 (iv 35-49, v 52-55)
 A 7966 (iv 44-64, v 49-62)
 A 7967 (iv 45-55, v 46-52)
 A 7968 (iv 54-99, v 52—vi 7, vi 53-92, vii 48-90)
 A 7969 (iv 83—v 3, v 73-93, vi 90—vii 13, viii 3-10)

¹¹ For the variant conclusion of A 7933 see p. 90.

¹² For the variant conclusion of A 7937 see p. 90.

¹³ For the variant conclusion of A 7938 see p. 92.

¹⁴ Possibly a fragment of some other edition.

- A 7970 (iv 97—v 6, v 87—vi 4)
 A 7971 (v 5–31, vi 10–31, vii 6–19)
 A 7972 (v 9–27, vi 14–16)
 A 7973 (v 22–37)
 A 7974 (v 29–35)
 A 7975 (v 36–41)
 A 7976 (v 43–63, vi 34–59)
 A 7977 (v 70–78)
 A 7978 (v 75–81, vi 80–82)
 A 7979 (v 83–86, vi 73–77)
 A 7980 (v 96—vi 12)
 A 7981 (vi 1–51, vii 26–73, viii 21–59)
 A 7982 (vi 10–20)
 A 7983 (vi 13–30, vi 95—vii 12)
 A 7984 (vi 32–37)
 A 7985 (vi 32–37, vii 44–51)
 A 7986 (vi 32–52)
 A 7987 (vi 39–41, vii 34–47)
 A 7988 (vi 39–42)
 A 7989 (vi 75–86)
 A 7990 (vi 82–95)
 A 7991 (vi 94—vii 5, vii 97—viii 3)
 A 7992 (vii 5–24)
 A 7993 (vii 18–27)
 A 7994 (vii 18–34)
 A 7995 (vii 33–37)
 A 7996 (vii 38–55, 59–60, viii 41–56)
 A 7997 (viii 7–10, 98–99)
 A 7998 (viii 22–39)
 A 7999 (viii 35–45)
 A 8000 (viii 43–50)

B. IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM^{14a}

- K 1705 (ii 50–76, iii 37–71, iv 37–71) *WKA*, pp. 59–61
 K 1707 (iii 72–94, iv 73–86) *WKA*, p. 63
 K 1709 (ii 80–90, iii 72–82) *WKA*, p. 62
 K 1710 (iv 81–82, v 84–87) *WKA*, p. 69
 KK 1713+1732+1737+1779+SS 1878+1989 (i 95—ii 14, ii 77—iii 3, iii 21–43, iii 88—iv 22, iv 59–70, v 21–22, vi 13–17, vi 99—vii 8, vii 18–30, viii 28–39). For the identity of these fragments see *CT XXXV* 49–50 and *WKA*, pp. 65, 71. Publication: K 1713 *WKA*, p. 69; a better edition in

^{14a} The still unpublished British Museum prism fragments of **B** here listed, together with fragments of **D** and **F** and additional duplicates of Th 1929–10–12, 2, approximately thirty-five altogether, will be edited shortly by the author.

- CT* XXXV 49–50. K 1732+S 1989 *WKA*, p. 65. K 1737 *WKA*, p. 71.
 K 1779 *WKA*, pp. 56–58; a better edition in *CT* XXXV 49–50
 K 1716 (iii 93–iv 5, iv 86–96) *WKA*, pp. 64–65
 K 1717 (iii 85–94, v 21–29) Bauer, Pl. 19 and p. 11
 KK 1741+1839+S 1887 (i 1, ii 10–12, iv 59–69, iv 72—v 4, v 62–90, v 95—
 vi 9, vi 48–95, vii 32–45, 49–63, vii 75—viii 4, viii 41–43, viii 87–99)
 KK 1741+1811+1852 *WKA*, pp. 49–54. K 1839 *WKA*, p. 68. S 1887
 Bauer, Pl. 50 and p. 11
 K 1752 (vii 12–18) KK 1752+2730 *WKA*, p. 70
 K 1786 (i 60–77, ii 57–68) *WKA*, pp. 55–56
 K 1796 (v 15–31, vi 14–23) *WKA*, p. 70
 K 1839 (iv 59–71, v 63–75) *WKA*, p. 68
 K 1843 (iv 78–89) *WKA*, p. 68
 K 2732 (i 1–30, ii 37–51, 53–70, 97–99, iii 1–60, iii 94—iv 32, iv 47–62,
 iv 90—v 19, v 42–56, 78–86, vi 8–23, 60–73, 87–93, vii 8–24, 53–65, vii 97—
 viii 9, viii 8–27, 35–41, 90–98) K 2732+S 1712 *WKA*, pp. 38–48
 K 3057 (iii 87–97) *WKA*, p. 64
 K 7572 (iii 46–50)
 K 10621 (v 8–18) *WKA*, p. 69¹⁵
 K 11289 (vi 63–75) *CT* XXXV 46
 K 11389 (vi 37–42) *CT* XXXV 46; Bauer, p. 11
 K 13730 (i 31–41)
 K 13750 (vi 58–60) *WKA*, p. 70 (probably a prism fragment)
 K 13764 (viii 26–34) *WKA*, p. 71
 K 14429 (ii 38–40) Bauer, Pl. 47
 Rm 15 (viii 9–10)
 Rm 18 (iv 29–36, v 34–46)
 Rm 24 (v 14–19, vi 11–16)
 Rm 27 (v 82–83, vi 83–95)
 Rm 28 (iv 85–86, v 80–85)
 Rm 2, 546 (i 71–77)^{15a}
 S 344 (ii 94–95)
 S 1879 (iv 48–59)
 S 1882 (v 30–37, vi 30–37)
 S 1890 (iii 42–52)
 SS 2103+2109 (v 32–35, vi 41–50) Bauer, Pl. 51 and p. 11
 S 2107 (iii 20–27)
 S 2127 (i 6–19, ii 13–22) Bauer, Pl. 52 and p. 12
 81–7–27, 10 (viii 32–39)
 81–7–27, 16 (iv 42–46, v 43–48) Bauer, Pl. 57
 81–7–27, 18 (iv 87–99)

¹⁵ Probably a fragment of some other edition, possibly C.

^{15a} Possibly a C fragment. The first column has not been identified.

- 81-7-27, 92 (viii 8-21)
 82-5-22, 7 (vi 39-59)
 83-1-18, 602 (ii 8-20, viii 92-99)
 Bu 89-4-26, 144 (vi 47-58)
 Ki 1904-10-9, 90 (vi 82-87)
 Th 1905-4-9, 62 (ii 3-20, iii 1-9) Bauer, Pl. 63 and p. 12
 Th 1905-4-9, 63 (v 80-84, vi 81-87) Bauer, *loc. cit.*
 99329 (vii 44-52)
 105323 (i 58-82, viii 75-96) Bauer, Pls. 63-64 and p. 12¹⁶

C. IN THE NEAR EAST SECTION OF THE STAATLICHE MUSEEN, BERLIN

- VA 2972 (iv 23-42, v 28-48) *Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler I* (Leipzig, 1907) 83

D. IN THE AUTHOR'S POSSESSION¹⁷

- P 1 (i 80-95, ii 64-84)
 P 2 (ii 69-99)
 P 3 (iv 16-23, v 11-25)
 P 4 (v 86-96, vi 67-80)

In the publication which follows, the intention is to give the text of Edition **B** as far as it has been published or has otherwise been made available for the writer's use in this place. The security of the text is not, however, to be measured by the frequency of square brackets; where restorations have been made from parallel editions, the texts have been so similar that the restoration is nearly as certain as if it were actually present on a **B** fragment. Serious doubt can be raised only in those cases where restorations are definitely conjectural.

¹⁶ For the variant conclusion of 105323 see p. 92.

¹⁷ See p. 3, note 12.

Column i

¶D

- 1 ¶a-na-ku (I)ašur-bâni-apli šarru rabû šarru dan-nu
- 2 šâr kiššati šâr (mātu)ašur(ki) šâr kib-rat irbitti(tim)
- 3 ši-it lib-bi (I)ašur-aḥa-iddina šâr (mātu)aš-šur(ki)
- 4 šakkanak bâbili(ki) šâr mât šumerî u akkadî(ki)
- 5 liplipi (I.ilu)sîn-aḥḥê(meš)-iriba šâr kiššati šâr (mātu)aš-šur(ki)
- 6 ilâni(meš) rabûti(meš) ina puḥri-šu-nu ši-mat damiqti-(tim) i-šim-mu
- 7 uz-nu ra-pa-áš-tum iš-ru-ku-u-ni
- 8 kul-lat dup-šar-ru-ti ú-ša-ḥi-zu ka-ra-ši
- 9 ina puḥur lu-li-me zi-kir šumi-ia ú-šar-ri-ḥu
- 10 ú-šar-bu-u šarru-u-ti
- 11 du-un-nu zik-ru-u-tu e-mu-qa-an ši-ra-a-ti
- 12 ú-šat-lim-u-ni ma-ta-a-ti la ma-gi-ri-ia
- 13 ina qâtê(II)-ia im-nu-u ú-šam-šu-in-ni ma-la lib-bi-ia
- 14 (amêlu)ša-an-gu-u-ti iḥ-šu-ḥu
- 15 na-dan zi-bi-ia i-ṭib eli ilû-u-ti-šu-un
- 16 eš-rit ilâni(meš) rabûti(meš) bêlê(meš)-ia ú-šak-lil
- 17 ú-šal-bi-ša ḥurâša [kasp¹]
- 18 (ilu)lamassâte(meš) (ilu)zê(meš) dim-me širûti(meš)
- 19 ina bâbi-šu-un ul-ziz é-šâr-ra
- 20 é-maš-maš é-gašan-kalam-ma é-ḥûl-ḥûl
- 21 ki-ma ši-ṭir šamê(e) ú-ban-ni
- 22 mimma si-mat ekurri ša ḥurâši kaspi e-pu-[uš²]
- 23 e-li ša šarrâni(meš) abbê(meš)-ia ú-[³rad-di³]
- 24 sat-tuk-ku gin-nu-u eli ša umê(me) ul-lu-u-[ti]
- 25 ú-ša-tir-ma áš-rat ilâni(meš) áš-te-[⁴'-a⁴]
- 26 at-tal-la-ka al-ka-[ka]-a-ti-šu-[nu]

¶A

- 27 ¶(ilu)adad zunnê(meš)-šu ú-maš-še-ra
- 28 (ilu)é-a ú-[⁶paṭ-ṭi-ra naq⁵]bê(meš)-[šu]
- 29 ḥanšu⁶ ammâte še-am iš-qu [⁵ina a⁵]bšêni(ni)-[šu⁵]
- 30 e-ri-ik šu-bul-tu [p]arap⁶ ammatu
- 31 išir eburu na-pa-áš (ilu)nisaba
- 32 ka-a-a-na [⁶ú-šaḥ-na-bu gi⁵]-pa-ru
- 33 šip-pa-a-ti šu-ta-[⁶am-mu-ḥa in⁵]-bu
- 34 [ʔbûlu šu-te-šur ina ta-lit-ti⁷] ina palê(meš)-ia nuḥšu ṭuḥḥudu(du)

§A

- 35 [⁵ina šanâti(meš)-ia ku-um-mu-ru ḥé-g⁵]ál-lu-š⁸

Column i

¹I, Ashurbanipal, the great king, the mighty king, ²king of the universe, king of Assyria, king of the four world-regions, ³offspring of the loins of Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, ⁴duke of Babylon, king of the land of the Shumerian and the Akkadian, ⁵grandson of Sennacherib, king of the universe, king of Assyria—⁶(when as my fate) the great gods in their council decreed a favorable destiny, ⁷they gave me a broad comprehension, ⁸caused my mind to grasp all of the scribal art, ⁹exalted my name in the assembly of princes, ¹⁰magnified my rule. ¹¹Strength, virility, enormous power ¹²they vouchsafed to me. The lands of my enemies ¹³they counted into my hands. They brought all my heart's desire (*lit.*, all of my heart) to perfect fulfilment. ¹⁴They desired my priesthood; ¹⁵that I should offer sacrifice (to them) was pleasing to their divinity. ¹⁶The sanctuaries of the great gods, my lords, I restored, ¹⁷with gold (and) [silver] I decked. ¹⁸Tutelary deities, storm-bird gods, lofty columns ¹⁹I erected in their gates. Êšarra, ²⁰Êmašmaš, Êgašankalamma, Êḫulḫul ²¹I made shine like the writing of heaven. ²²Every kind of gold (and) silver adornment of a temple I [ma]de, ²³I ad[ded] to that of my royal ancestors. ²⁴The stated revenues beyond those of the remotes[t] days ²⁵I increased, and the shrines of the gods I sought [out]; ²⁶I walked (in) thei[r] wa[y]s. ²⁷Adad sent down his rains for me, ²⁸Ea o[pened] for me his fount]ains. ²⁹The grain waxed five cubits tall [in its luxuriant g]rowth, ³⁰an ear grew to [five]-sixths of a cubit in length. ³²[The cult]ivated area consistently [produced] ³¹heavy harvests, luxuriant crops; ³³the orchards yielded [frulit [in abundance]; ³⁴[the cattle brought forth their young successfully]. In my reign there was prosperity aplenty, ³⁵[in my years there was

NOTES FOR COLUMN I

¹ C i 28.² C i 110.³⁻³ C i 111.⁴⁻⁴ Th 1929-10-12, 2 iv 5.⁵⁻⁵ A.⁶ A (var.) adds *ištēn*.⁷ D + A.⁸ A om. ll. 36-49.

- 36 12⁹ ANŠE ŠE.PAD(meš) 2¹⁰ [¹¹ANŠE karânê(meš)¹¹]
 37 [¹¹12 SILA šamnê(meš) 1 bilat¹¹] šipâte(meš)
 38 ina nap-ḫar mâti-ia maḫir[¹²âte ¹¹nap-su i-šam-mu¹¹
¹²]x-pi
 39 [¹²šat-ti¹²]-šam-ma [¹²ina tuḫdi¹² ¹³mi-ša-ri-iš¹³]
 40 [¹²ar-te¹²]-’a ba-[¹²’-ú¹²⁻¹³]at (ilu)en-líl¹³]
 41 [¹²ul-tu tam-tim e¹²]-lit a-[¹²di tam-tim šap-lit¹²]
 42 [¹²šarrâni(meš) ši-it (ilu)šamši(ši)¹² ¹⁴u e-rib (ilu)šam-
 ši(ši)¹⁴]
 43¹² [iš-šu-u-ni bilat-su-nu ka-bit-tu]
 44¹² [nišê(meš) qabal tam-tim a-šib šadê(e) ša-qu-ti]
 45 [¹²ú-ša¹²]k-ni-ša [¹²a-na (išu)niri-ia¹²]
 46 [¹²ina qí¹²]-bit ašur ù [¹²(ilu)ištar šarrâni(meš) a-šib¹² ¹¹pa-
 rak-ki¹¹]
 ¶ C 47 ¶[ú-na-áš-ša-[¹²qu šêpê(II)-ia¹²]
 48 [m]al-ki rabûti(meš) ša ši-taš [¹²u ši-la-an¹²]
 49 [a]-na kit-ri-šu-[¹²nu ú-pa¹²]-qu-u-ni
-
- ¶ A 50 ¶[i-na maḫ-ri-e gi[¹²r-ri-ia¹²] a-na [¹²(mātu)má¹²]-kan¹⁵ u
 51 [¹²(mātu)me-luḫ-ḫa¹²] lu-u al-lik
 52 (I)tar-qu-[¹²u šâr (mātu)mu-šur u¹²] (mātu)ku-u-si
 53 ša (I)ašur-[¹²aḫa-iddina¹²] šâr (mātu)ašur abu ba-nu-u-[a]
 54 [¹²abikta-šu iš-ku-nu¹²] i-be-lu mât-su
 55 da-na-an ašur u¹⁶ (ilu)iš[¹²tar ù ilâni(meš) rab¹²]ûti(meš)
 bêlê(meš)-ia
 56 im-ši-ma it-t[¹²a-kil a-na ¹⁷ṭe-im¹⁷ r¹²]a-ma-ni-šu
 57 eli ša[¹²rrâni(meš) (amêlu)qí-e-pa-a-ni ša qí-rib (mātu)¹²]-
 mu-šur
 58 ú-[pa]-qí-du [¹²abu ba-nu-u¹²]-a
 59 a-na da-a-ki ḫa-ba-[¹²a-ti u e-kim (mātu)mu¹²]-šur

fullness [to overflowing]. ³⁶Twelve (ten **D**) homers of edible barley (for) two (one **D**) [homers of wine], ³⁷[twelve *silas* of oil (for) one talent] of wool—³⁸(thus) the market [prices went] throughout my land. ³⁹[Year] after year [in prosperity righteously] ⁴⁰[I shepherd]ed the dom[ains of Enlil]. ⁴¹[From the] Medi[terranean Sea] to [the Persian Gulf I ruled(?)]. ⁴²[The kings of the East and the West] ⁴³[brought their heavy tribute.] ⁴⁴[People living in the sea and those inhabiting high mountains] ⁴⁵[I sub]jected [to my yoke.] ⁴⁶[At the comm]and of Ashur and [Ishtar the kings who inhabit palaces] ⁴⁷kisse[d my feet]. ⁴⁸Mighty [p]rinces of the East [and West] ⁴⁹[bes]ought me [to be]come the[ir] ally.

⁵⁰On my first cam[paign] I marched against [Ma]gan and ⁵¹[Meluh-
ḥa]. ⁵²Taharka, [king of Egypt and] Ethiopia, ⁵³wh[ose defeat] Esar-
[haddon], king of Assyria, the father who begat me, ⁵⁴[had accom-
plished], whose land he had brought under his sway, ⁵⁵forgot the
might of Ashur and Ish[ar and the gr]eat [gods], my lords, ⁵⁶and
tru[sted in] his [o]wn [ability (strength **D C A**)]. ⁵⁷Against the ki[n]gs,
the governors whom] ⁵⁸[the father who begat] me had ap[ointed in]
Egypt, ⁵⁹intent on murder, lo[ot, and the seizing of Eg]ypt ⁶⁰he marched.

NOTES FOR COLUMN I

⁹ 10 **D**.

¹⁰ 1 **D** (11528); text: **B** (K 13730).

¹¹⁻¹¹ The restorations in lines 36–38 and 44 are based upon **D** fragments A 8104 and Iraq Museum 11528, the latter being quoted with the graciously accorded permission of its discoverer, Dr. R. Campbell Thompson, of Merton College, Oxford, whose publication of this and other Sargonid prism fragments excavated by recent British Museum expeditions to Kouyunjik will appear shortly. The Iraq Museum fragment also confirms the reading *išammu* conjectured in line 38 by Dr. Arnold Walther. It is interesting to compare the price equations here given with those on the *kudurru* published by King in *Babylonian Boundary Stones* (London, 1912) Plate XCIV, ll. 8–9. This *kudurru*, though badly broken and lacking a date, is obviously, as Professor Olmstead has pointed out to his seminar, from the hand of one of Ashurbanipal's scribes.

¹²⁻¹² **D**.

¹³⁻¹³ Th 1929–10–12, 2 iv 10–11.

¹⁴⁻¹⁴ K 228 + K 2675 Obv. 1.

¹⁵ **D** adds *-na*.

¹⁶ **D** om.

¹⁷⁻¹⁷ *e-muq* **D** (A 8006) **C A**.

§ C A
¶ A

- 60 il-¹⁸la¹⁸-ka [¹⁹šīru-uš-šu-un¹⁹] e-ru-um-ma ú-šib [¹⁹qí-rib
(álu)me-im¹⁹]-pi álu
- 61 ša abu ba-nu-u-a ik-šu-²⁰du-ma²⁰
- 62 a-na mi-šir ²¹mâti-šu²¹ ú-tir-ru
- 63 al-[la]-ku ḥa-an-ṭu ina²² qí-rib ninua(ki) il-lik-am-ma
- 64 ú-ša-an-na-a ia-a-ti eli ip-še-e-ti an-na-a-ti
- 65 lib-bi i-gug-ma iṣ-ša-ru-uḥ ka-bīt-ti²³
- 66 ad-ki²⁴ (amêlu)e-mu-qi-ia šîrâte(meš)
- 67 ša ašur u (ilu)ištar ú-mal-lu-u qa-tu-u-a²⁵
- 68 ¶a-na na-ra-ru-ti ²⁶ḥa-maṭ²⁶ ša šarrâni(meš) (amêlu)qí-pa-
a-ni
- 69 ša qí-rib (mātu)mu-šur ardâni(meš) da-gil pa-ni-ia
- 70 ur-ru-[ḥi]-iṣ ar-di-e-ma al-lik a-di (álu)kar-²⁷ba-ni²⁷-ti
- 71 (I)tar-qu-u šâr (mātu)mu-šur u (mātu)ku-u-si
- 72 qí-rib (álu)me-im-pi a-lak gir-ri-ia
- 73 iṣ-me-ma a-na e-peš qab-li (iṣu)kakkê(meš)²⁸ tâḥâzi
- 74 ²⁹a-na²⁹ maḥ-ri-ia id-ka-a (amêlu)ṣabê(meš) tâḥâzi-šu
- 75 i-na tu-kul-ti ašur ³⁰(ilu)bêl³⁰ ³¹(ilu)nabû³¹ ilâni(meš)
- 76 rabûti(meš) bêlê(meš)-ia ³²a-li-kut i-di-ia³²
- 77 i-na tâḥâz šêri rap-ši áš-ku-na abikti ummanâte(ḥá)-šu
- 78 (I)tar-qu-u i-na qí-rib (álu)me-im-pi
- 79 iṣ-ma-a taḥ-te-e ummanâte(ḥá)-šu
- 80 nam-ri-ri ašur ù³³ (ilu)ištar is-³⁴ḥu-pu³⁴-šu-ma
- 81 il-li-ka maḥ-ḥu-taš
- 82 mi-lam-me šarrû-ti-ia ik-tu-mu-šu-ma
- 83 ša ú-za-'-i-nu-u-ni ilâni(meš) šu-ut šamê iršiti

He broke in [upon them] and established himself [in Mem]phis, a city⁶¹ which the father who begat me had conquered and⁶² converted into a province of his land (Assyria **A**).⁶³ A swift run[ner] came to me in Nineveh and⁶⁴ reported to me concerning these deeds. ⁶⁵My heart became enraged, my liver seethed. (**A** adds: I raised my hands, I invoked Ashur and the Assyrian Ishtar.)⁶⁶ I mustered my mighty forces⁶⁷ which Ashur and Ishtar had poured into my hands. ⁶⁸To hasten aid to the kings, the governors⁶⁹ who were in Egypt, servants subject to me, ⁷⁰I hastily advanced and marched as far as Karbaniti. ⁷¹Taharka, king of Egypt and Ethiopia, ⁷²heard in Memphis that my campaign was in progress⁷³ and so that he might offer battle and armed resistance⁷⁴ he mustered up his fighting men against me. ⁷⁵With the help of Ashur, Bêl, Nabû, ⁷⁶the great gods, my lords, who walk beside me, ⁷⁷I accomplished the defeat of his troops in a battle on the open plain. ⁷⁸Taharka in Memphis⁷⁹ heard of the defeat of his troops, ⁸⁰the terrible majesty of Ashur and Ishtar overwhelmed him, and ⁸¹he fell into a frantic terror at the thought of me. ⁸²(My) royal majesty, ⁸³with which the gods of heaven and earth have adorned me,

NOTES FOR COLUMN I

¹⁸ -li- **D** (K 1700).

¹⁹⁻¹⁹ **D** + **A**.

²⁰⁻²⁰ -da **C**.

²¹⁻²¹ (mātu)ašur(ki) **A**.

²² **C** **A** (Rm 1) om.

²³ **A** adds áš-ši qâtê(II)-ia ú-šal-li ašur u (ilu)ištar aš-šur-i-tu.

²⁴ **B** (105323) **D** **C** add -e-ma.

²⁵ **C** and **A** insert an addition at this point.

²⁶⁻²⁶ **A** (Rm 1) om.

²⁷⁻²⁷ -(ilu)báni- **D** (K 1731) **A** (Rm 1).

²⁸ **A** adds ú.

²⁹ ina **A** (Rm 1).

³⁰⁻³⁰ u (ilu)ištar **A** (var.).

³¹⁻³¹ **B** (Rm 2, 546) **D** **A** (var.) om.

³²⁻³² **A** (var.) om.

³³ **D** om.

³⁴⁻³⁴ -hup- **B** (P 1)

- ¶C 84 (âlu)me-im-pi ú-maš-šír-ma a-na šu-zu-¶ub napišti(tim)-
 šu
 85 in-na-bit ³⁵a-na³⁵ qí-rib (âlu)ni-' âlu šu-a-tu aš-bat
 §C A 86 ummanâte(há.meš)-ia ú-še-rib ú-še-šib ina lib-bi³⁶
 ¶CA 87 ¶šarrâni(meš)³⁷ (amêlu)paḥâti(meš)³⁸ ša qí-rib (mātu)-
 mu-šur ù-pa-qi-du
 88 abu ba-nu-u-a ša la-pa-an ti-bu-ti (I)tar-qu-u pi-qit-ta-šu-
 un
 89 ú-maš-še-ru im-lu-u šêra ú-tir-ma a-šar
 90 pi-qit-ti-šu-un
 91 ina maš-kán-i-šu-nu ³⁹ul-zi-is³⁹-su-nu-ti
 92 (mātu)mu-šur⁴⁰ (mātu)ku-u-si
 §D 93 ša abu ba-nu-u-a ik-šu-du a-na eš-šu-ti§ aš-bat
 94 maššarâte(meš)-šu eli ša⁴¹ ûmê(me) pa-ni ù-dan-nin⁴²
 §C A 95 ú-rak-ki-sa rik-⁴³si-e-šu⁴³§ (âlu)sa-a-a (âlu)bi-in-ṭi-ṭi
 (âlu)sa-'-nu
 96 ša ib-bal-ki-tu
 97 it-ti (I)tar-qu-u iš-ku-nu pi-i-šu-un
 98 âlâni(meš) ša-a-tu-nu ak-šu-ud
 99 nišê(meš) a-šib lib-bi-šu-nu a-ni-ir ina (iṣu)kakkê(meš)

overpowered him, ⁸⁴he forsook Memphis, and to save his life ⁸⁵he fled to Thebes. I conquered that city (*i.e.*, Memphis), ⁸⁶led my troops into it, and let them settle therein. ⁸⁷The (Those **A**) kings (and) governors (**C A** *add* (and) prefects) whom ⁸⁸the father who begat me had appointed in Egypt, who before the advance of Taharka had forsaken their posts (and) ⁸⁹had filled the plain, I restored to ⁹⁰their posts and ⁹¹in their dwelling-places I established (appointed **A**) them. ⁹²Egypt (and) Ethiopia, ⁹³which the father who begat me had conquered, I reorganized. ⁹⁴I made its outposts stronger than in earlier days, ⁹⁵I strengthened its organization (*lit.*, bonds). Sais, Binṭiṭi, Sa'nu, ⁹⁶which had revolted, ⁹⁷had made common cause (*lit.*, set their mouth) with Taharka—⁹⁸those cities I conquered, ⁹⁹the people dwelling in them I slaughtered with weapons.

NOTES FOR COLUMN I

³⁵⁻³⁵ **B** (P 1) om.

³⁶ **C** and **A** insert an addition at this point.

³⁷ [**C**] **A** *add an-nu-ti*.

³⁸ **C A** *add (amēlu)qi-pa-ni*.

³⁹⁻³⁹ *ap-qid-* **A**.

⁴⁰ **C** *adds u*.

⁴¹ **B** (**A** 7935) om.

⁴² **A** *adds -ma*.

⁴³⁻⁴³ *-sa-a-te* [**C**] **A**. After *riksāte* **C** and **A** insert an addition.

Column ii

- ¶A 1 ¶(amêlu)pagrê(meš)-šu-nu ¹ina (iṣu)ga-ši-ši a-lul¹
 2 maškê(meš)-šu-nu ²áš-ḥu-uṭ dūr âli ú-ḫal-lip²
 3 ³(I)šarru-lu-dá-ri ša abu-u-a ina (mātu)mu-ṣur
 4 iš-ku-nu-uš a-na šarru-u-ti³
 §A 5 ša limuttu(tu) ⁴iḳ-pu-du⁴ a-na ⁵mârê(meš)⁵ (mātu)aš-
 šur(ki) §⁶
 6 ina qa-ti aṣ-bat ú-ra-a a-na (mātu)aš-šur(ki)
 ¶C A 7 ¶(I)tar-qu-u a-šar in-nab-tu
 8 ra-šub-bat (iṣu)kakki ašur bêli-ia is-^{6a}ḥu-pu^{6a}-šu-ma
 9 il-lik šimat mu-ši-šu
 10 arkânu(nu) (I)taš-da-ma-ni-e⁷ mâr ⁸aḥâti-šu⁸
 11 ú-šib ina (iṣu)kussî šarrû-ti-šu
 12 (âlu)ni-' (âlu)ú-nu a-na dan-nu-ti-šu iš-kun

Column ii

¹Their corpses I (they A) hung on poles, ²flayed, covered the wall of the city (therewith). ³Šarrulûdâri, whom my father ⁴had made king in Egypt, ⁵who had plotted evil against the Assyrians, ⁶I captured with (my) hands, I brought to Assyria. ⁷Taharka in the place where he had fled—⁸the terror of the weapon of Ashur, my lord, overcame him, and ⁹he died. ¹⁰Thereupon Tašdamanê, his nephew (the son of Shabaka A), ¹¹put himself on his royal throne. ¹²Thebes, Heliopolis

NOTES FOR COLUMN II

¹⁻¹ *i-lu-lu ina (iṣu)ga-ši-ši A.*

²⁻² *iš-ḥu-tu ú-ḥal-li-pu dūr âli A.*

³⁻³ *šarrâni(meš) an-nu-ti A.*

⁴⁻⁴ *iš-te-ni'-u A.*

⁵⁻⁵ *ummanât(há) A.*

⁶ [C] and A insert an addition at this point.

^{6a-6a} *-ḥup- C.*

⁷ There is no Egyptian or Ethiopian king or high official whose name can easily be equated with any reading of this combination of signs. The reading Tandamanê is impossible, since, as Ranke has pointed out ("Keilinschriftliches Material zur altägyptischen Vokalisation," *Abhandlungen der K. preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berlin. Phil.-hist. Klasse. Anhang. Abh.* 2 [1910] p. 36, n. 2), *ur* does not possess a value *tán*, nor is the consideration which Streck (*Assurbanipal*, p. 399) urges against Ranke particularly convincing, being based entirely on an unsupported inference. Ranke states that it is impossible to make the equation with which historians have been contenting themselves, (*I*)*ur-da-ma-ni-e* = Tanutamon (*loc. cit.*). On the other hand, the force of the historical argument is too strong lightly to be set aside, especially since both Reisner's work in Ethiopia and Cairo statuette 42204 (Legrain, *Statues et statuettes de rois et de particuliers* III, "Catalogue général du Musée du Caire" LXXI [1914] 12) confirm the order: Shabaka, Taharka, Tanutamon. Sethe (*Zeitschrift der Deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft* LXXVII 167, n. 3) seems willing to concede that Tanutamon and (*I*)*ur-da-ma-ni-e* are the same person. The reading here adopted posits an original form *Taltamanê, or something similar, with a palatal-dental *l* before the *t*. This could quite conceivably have been rendered by the Assyrians as Tašdamanê and by the Egyptians as Tanutamon. The element *amanê* militates against positing an original theophoric name compounded with Amon, since in such a case we should expect the last part to be *a-mu-nu*, the conventional rendering of Amon in this period (e.g., (*I*)*u-na-mu-nu*, Wenamon, in A i 97). The assimilation on the part of the Egyptians of *amanê* to the popular god's name is not without parallel under similar circumstances; cf. the Assyrian renderings of Šutruknahhunte as Ištarnandi (K 2674 Obv. 7; George Smith, *History*, p. 141) and Sarduri as Ištardûri (A x 40, 43; *AJSL* XLVII 266).

⁸⁻⁸ (*I*)*ša-ba-ku-u A* (Rm. 1).

- 13 ú-paḥ-ḫi-ra il-lat-su
 14 a-na mit-ḫu-ši ummanâte(ḫá) mârê(meš) (mātu)aš-
 šur(ki)
 15 ša qí-rib (álu)me-im-pi id-ka-a qa-bal-šu
 16 nišê(meš) ša-a-tu-nu e-si-ir-ma [⁹iš-ba⁹]-ta mu-uš-ša-šu-un
 17 (amêlu)mâr-šipri ḫa-an-⁹tu a-na nínua(ki) il-lik-am-ma⁹]
 iq-ba-a ia-a-ti
¶F F₂ 18 ¶[¹⁰áš-ni-ma¹⁰] ⁹a-na ¹¹(mātu)mu-šur [⁹u (mātu)ku-u-si⁹]¹¹
 19 uš-te-eš-še-ra ḫar-⁹ra-nu⁹]
 20 (I)taš-da-¹²ma-ni-e¹² [⁹a-lak gir-ri-ia⁹] iš-me-[ma]
 21 ša ak-bu-su [⁹mi-šir (mātu)mu-¹³šur^{13,9}] (álu)me-im-pi
 [⁹ú-maš-šir-ma⁹]
 22 [⁹a-na šu-zu-ub napišti(tim)-šu⁹] in-na-bit a-n⁹a qí-rib
 (álu)ni-⁹]
 23 šarrâni(meš) (amêlu)paḫâti(meš) [⁹(amêlu)qí-pa-a-ni⁹]
¹⁴ša qí-rib (mātu)mu-šur áš-⁹ku-nu⁹]¹⁴
 24 ina ir-ti-ia il-lik-u-nim-[ma] ú-na-áš-ša-qu šêpê(II)-i[a]
 25 arki (I)taš-da^{14a}-ma-ni-¹⁵e¹⁵ ḫar-ra-nu aš-[bat]
 26 al-lik a-di (álu)ni-' ál dan-nu-ti-š[u]
¶D 27 ti-ib tâḫâzi-ia¹⁶ e-mur-¹⁷ma¹⁷ (álu)ni-' ú-maš-šir ¶in-na-bit
 28 [⁹a-na (á⁹)lu]ki-ip-ki-pi álu šu-a-tu ¹⁸ana si-ḫir-ti-šu¹⁸
 29 [⁹i-na¹⁹] tu-kul-ti ašur²⁰ ²¹(ilu)ištar²¹ ik-šu-da qâtâ(II)-a-a

he made his strongholds. ¹³He gathered together his forces. ¹⁴To fight my troops, the Assyrians, ¹⁵who were in Memphis, he mustered his battle array. ¹⁶Those people he shut up and [to]ok away thei[r] avenues of escape. ¹⁷A swif[t] messenger [came to Nineveh and] told me (thereof). ¹⁸⁻¹⁹[A second time] (In the year of my accession, on my first campaign **F F₂**; on my second campaign **A**) I made straight for Egypt [and Ethiopia]. ²⁰Tašdamanê (**F F₂** *add*: the king of Egypt and Ethiopia) heard of [the advance of my army], ²¹that I had invaded [the territory of Egypt; so he deserted] Memphis [and] ²²[to save his life] he fled t[o Thebes]. ²³The kings, prefects, [governors,] whom I (Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, the father who begat me **F**) had in[stalled] in Egypt, ²⁴came before me [and] kissed m[y] feet. ²⁵I to[ok] the road after Tašdamanê, ²⁶marched as far as Thebes, hi[s] stronghold. ²⁷He beheld the advance of my (**F F₂ A** *add*: mighty) array and forsook Thebes, fled ²⁸[to] Kipkipi. That city (Thebes and Heliopolis **F F₂**) in its (their **F F₂**) entirety ²⁹my hands conquered [with] the help of Ashur (and) Ishtar (Ashur, Šin, Šamaš, Bêl, Nabû, Ishtar of Nineveh, Ishtar of Arbela, Ninurta, Nergal, and Nusku **F F₂**).

NOTES FOR COLUMN II

⁹⁻⁹ **C + A.**

¹⁰⁻¹⁰ *ina šanê(e) gir-ri-ia A; ri-eš (ina ri-eš F (105315)) šarru-ti-ia i-na maḥ-ri-e gir-ri-ia F F₂.*

¹¹⁻¹¹ *(mātu)má-gan ù (mātu)me-luḥ-ḥa F F₂.*

¹²⁻¹² *-am-ma-ni-’ F F₂; F F₂ add šar (mātu)mu-šur u (F (105315) om. (mātu)mu-šur u) (mātu)ku-u-si.*

¹³⁻¹³ *-uṣ-ri F (A 8022).*

^{13a-13a} *mi-in-pu F (105315).*

¹⁴⁻¹⁴ *ša (I)ašur-aḥa-iddina šar (mātu)aš-šur(ki) abu ba-nu-u-a iš-tak-ka-nu qī-riḥ (mātu)mu-šur F F₂.*

^{14a} **F** (105315) adds *-am-.*

¹⁵⁻¹⁵ *’ F (A 8022).*

¹⁶ **F** (A 8022, 105315) **F₂** (A 8078) **A** add *dan-ni.*

¹⁷⁻¹⁷ **A** om.

¹⁸⁻¹⁸ **F F₂** om., but both insert the phrase in the next line.

¹⁹⁻¹⁹ **A.**

²⁰ **A** adds *u.*

²¹⁻²¹ *(ilu)šin (ilu)šamaš (ilu)bêl (ilu)nabû (ilu)ištar ša ninua(ki) (ilu)ištar ša (álu)arba-ilu(ki) (ilu)nínurta (ilu)nergal u (F (A 8022, 105315) F₂ om. u) (ilu)-nusku (álu)ni-’ (álu)ú-nu (álu.ilu)ú-nu F (A 8022) F₂ a-na si-ḫir-ti-šu (si-ḫir-ti-ša F (105315); si-ḫir-ti-šu-nu F₂) F F₂.*

	30	[kas]pu ħurâṣu ni-siq-ti abnê(meš) ²² bušû ekalli-šu ²²
	31	ma-la ba-šu-u lu-bul-[ti] bir-me kitê(meš)
	32	sisê(meš) rabûti(meš) [¹⁹ nišê(meš) ¹⁹] zik-ra ù sin-niš
	33	2 dim-me šîrûti(meš) pi-tiq za-ġa-li-e ib-bi
	34	ša 2 lim 5 me bil[at] šuqultu-šu-nu [¹⁹ man-za-az bâb ¹⁹] ekurri
§ F F ₂	35	ul-tu man-zal-ti-šu- ¹⁹ nu as ¹⁹ -suġ-ma al-[qa]-a ana (mātu)ašur(ki) § ²³
	36	šal-la-tu ka-bit-tu [¹⁹ ina la me-ni áš-lu-la ¹⁹] ul- ²⁴ tu qí-rib ²⁴] (álu)[ni]-'
	37	eli (mātu)mu-šur [¹⁹ ù (mātu)k ¹⁹]u-u-si
	38	[¹⁹ (iṣu)kakkê(meš) ¹⁹]-ia ú-šam-ri-i ²⁴ r-ma áš-ta-kan ²⁴] li-i-tu
	39	it-ti qa-ti ma-li-te
§ C	40	šal-meš a-tu-ra § a-na ninua(ki) ál bēlû-ti-ia
¶ F F ₂	41	¶ina ²⁵ šalši(ši) ²⁵ gir-ri-i[a] eli (I)ba-'-li šâr (mātu)šur-ri
¶ C	42	a-šib qabal tam-tim ²⁶ lu-¶u ²⁶ al-lik ²⁷ áš-šu ²⁷ a-mat šarrû-ti-ia
	43	la iṣ-šu-ru [l]a iṣ-mu-u zi-kir šapti-ia
§ F F ₂ A	44	[²⁸ (álu)ġalše ²⁸](meš) eli-šu ú-rak-kis § ²⁹
	45	a-n ³⁰ a la ³⁰] a-ši-e nišê(meš)-šu ú-dan-nin ma-šar-tu
¶ § F F ₂ A	46	¶i-na tam-tim u na-ba-li gir-ri-ti-šu ú-šab-bit § ³¹
	47	a-lak-ta-šu ap-ru-us
	48	[³⁰ mê(meš) ³⁰] ^{31a} te-'-u-ta ba-laṭ napišti(tim)-šu-nu
	49	a-na pi-i-šu-nu ú-ša-qí-ir
	50	ina me-si-ri dan-ni ša la na-par-šu-di e-si-ir-šu-nu-ti
¶ F F ₂ A	51	¶nap-šat-su-nu ú-si-iq ú-kar-ri
§ C	52	aš-na (iṣu)nîri-ia ú-šak-ni-is-su-nu-ti
	53	³² mârat-su ³² ši-it lib-bi-šu ù mârât(meš) aġġê(meš)-šu

³⁰[Sil]ver, gold, precious stones, the goods (**F F₂** *add*: possessions) of his palace (those cities **F F₂**), ³¹all there was, brightly colo[red] (and) linen garments, ³²great horses, [the people,] men and women, ³³two tall obelisks, fashioned of glittering electrum, ³⁴whose wei[ght] was 2,500 talents, [placed at the gate] of the temple, ³⁵[I re]moved from the[ir] positions and to[ok] off to Assyria. ³⁶Booty, heavy (and) [countless, I carried away] fr[om The]bes. ³⁷Against Egypt [and Eth]iopia ³⁸I wag[ed bl]itter [warfare (*lit.*, sharpene[d] my [weapons])] and established] (my) authority. ³⁹With a full hand ⁴⁰I returned safely to Nineveh, the city of my lordship.

⁴¹On m[y] third (second **F F₂**) campaign I marched against Ba'ali, king of Tyre, ⁴²who dwelt in the midst of the sea, because he did not keep my royal command ⁴³[n]or listen to the word of my lips. ⁴⁴I threw up [earthwork]s against him, ⁴⁵(and) tha[t] his people might [not] escape I strengthened the guard. ⁴⁶By sea and land I seized his approaches, ⁴⁷his road I cut off. ⁴⁸[Water], food to keep them alive ⁴⁹I made precious to their mouth. ⁵⁰With a mighty, inescapable cordon I surrounded them. ⁵¹I straitened their souls, hemmed them in, ⁵²sub-jected them to my yoke. ⁵³His daughter, the offspring of his loins,

NOTES FOR COLUMN II

²²⁻²² *bušê(meš) makkurê(meš) âlâni(meš) (âli F (105315)) šu-a-tu F F₂*.

²³ **F F₂** om. ll. 36-40.

²⁴⁻²⁴ **D** + **A**.

²⁵⁻²⁵ *šanê(e) F F₂*.

²⁶⁻²⁶ **F F₂** om.

²⁷⁻²⁷ *ša F F₂ A*.

²⁸⁻²⁸ **F**.

²⁹ **F F₂ A** om. l. 45.

³⁰⁻³⁰ **D**.

³¹ **F F₂ A** om. ll. 47-50.

^{31a} **C** adds *û*.

³²⁻³² *mârtu D F [F₂] A*.

- 54 a-na e-peš abrakku-u-ti³³ [³⁰ú-bi³⁰]-la a-di maḥ-ri-ia³⁴
 ¶B₄ 55 mâr-šu ša ma-ti-ma tâmta ¶la e-bi-ra
 56 ³⁵[iṣ³⁰]-ša-a³⁵ a-na e-peš ardû-ti-ia
 57 mâr[³⁰at-su³⁰] û³⁶ mârât(meš) aḥḥê(meš)-šu
 58 it-ti tir-ḥa-ti ma-'-as-si am-ḥur-šu
 59 ri-e-mu ar-ši-šu-ma
 60 mâru ši-it lib-bi-šu
 §F F₂ A 61 ú-tir-ma a-³⁷ri-im³⁷-šu §³⁸
 62 (âlu)ḥalṣê(meš) ša [e]-lî (I)ba-^{39/39}-li šar (mātu)ṣur-ri
 63 ú-rak-ki-su ap-ṭur ina tam-tim u na-ba-li
 64 gir-ri-e-ti-šu ma-la ú-ṣab-bi-tu ap-ti
 65 ma-da-at-ta-šu ka-bit-tu am-ḥur-šu⁴⁰

and his nieces ⁵⁴[he bro]ught before me to be ladies-in-waiting. ⁵⁵His son (A adds: Yaḥimilki), who had never crossed the sea before, ⁵⁶[he bro]ught to me (he caused to be brought to me at once F F₂ A) to serve me. ⁵⁷[His] dau[ghter] and his nieces ⁵⁸I received from him with large dowries. ⁵⁹I took pity on him, and ⁶⁰his son, the offspring of his loins, ⁶¹I gave back to him. ⁶²The earthworks which I had thrown up [aga]inst Ba'ali, king of Tyre, ⁶³I tore down. By sea and land ⁶⁴his approaches, as many as I had seized, I opened. ⁶⁵His heavy tribute I ac-

NOTES FOR COLUMN II

³³ Streck (*Assurbanipal*, p. 16, note w) states that both Jensen and Zimmern had suggested to him privately that ŠAL.AGRIG-*u-ti* should be read *abarakkûti*, and he so lists it in the glossary (*ibid.* p. 429). This conjecture is now confirmed by A 7935, which in iii 97 renders the ŠAL.AGRIG-*u-ti* of the other copies with *ab-rak-ku-ti*. For the translation the following considerations are decisive: (1) The term designates the occupation of the female counterpart of the male *abarakku*. Although in the Hittite Code the (*amêlu*)_{AGRIG} is obviously a menial (*Hethitica* I [Paris, 1922] 28, par. 35), from the letters and other documents of the later Assyrian Empire the *abarakku* is clearly an official of high importance in the imperial household (Harper, *Letters*, No. 92 Rev. 7; No. 114, 15; No. 145, 1; No. 273, 6; (*amêlu*)-*abarakku* ša *ummi* šarri is referred to *ibid.* No. 63, 8; No. 393 Rev. 3; Arbilayya, the "great *abarakku*," is an eponym [*Rec. de trav.* XX 205, 6-7], as is also Daddi under Šinšariškun [Streck, *Assurbanipal*, p. 386]; in the lists published in *PSBA* XI 286, Nos. 749, 777, and 806, the order of the officers is: *turtānu*, *nāgir ekalli*, *rab BILUB*, *abarakku*; the term has been rendered variously as "chancellor," "keeper of the seal," "steward," etc.). (2) It must also be parallel to the service (*ardûtu*) performed by the various male hostages delivered to the Assyrian emperors by subject princes (*ardûtu* implies personal rather than menial service, but throughout history even menial service when performed for royalty has partaken of the character of a privilege—one need but remember the etymology of "marshal" or the position of the king of Bohemia as *buticularius* of the medieval Holy Roman emperors). The idea of concubinage is certainly not an essential part of the concept (against Klauber, *Assyrisches Beamtentum* [Leipzig, 1910] pp. 81-82; Streck, *Assurbanipal*, p. 16, note w; and others).

³⁴ A adds (*I*)*ia-ḫi-mil-ki*.

³⁵⁻³⁵ *iš-te-niṣ ū-še-bi-la* (A 8018) F F₂ A.

³⁶ F (A 8013, A 8018) om.

³⁷⁻³⁷ *-din-* B (K 1705) B₄ F F₂ A. *utirma arîmšu* might mean "I graciously returned to him," or it might simply mean "I gave back to him." That the latter, rather than the former, was intended is clearly shown by the unequivocal variant of the later texts.

³⁸ F F₂ A om. ll. 62-70.

³⁹⁻³⁹ B (K 1705) om.

⁴⁰ B₄ adds [*pa-an (iṣu)nî*]*ri-ia ū-tir-ram-[ma]*.

	66	šal-meš a-tu-ra a-na ninua(ki) ál be-lu-ti-ia
	67	ma-al-ki qabal tam-tim ù šarrâni(meš)
	68	a-ši-bu-ti ša-di-e ša-qu-u-ti
¶ C	69	¶da-na-an ip-še-e-ti-ia an-na-a-ti
§B ₄	70	e-mu-ru-ma ip-la-ḥu bêlu-u-ti§
¶F F ₂ A	71	¶(I)ia-ki-in-lu-u šâr (mātu) ⁴¹ a-ru-ad ⁴¹ -da ⁴²
	72	(I)mu-gal-lu šâr ⁴³ (mātu) ⁴³ tab- ⁴⁴ âl-a-a ⁴⁴
	73	(I)sa-an- ⁴⁵ di ⁴⁶ -šar-me (mātu)ḥi-lak-ka-a-a ⁴⁶
§D	74	ša a-na šarrâni(meš) abbê(meš)-ia la ⁴⁷ kan-šu ⁴⁷ §
	75	⁴⁸ ik-nu-šu a-na (iṣu)nîri-ia ⁴⁸
	76	mârâte(meš) ši-it lib-bi-šu- ⁴⁹ nu ⁴⁹ it-ti nu-dun-ni-e
	77	ma-'-di ⁵⁰ ù tir-ḥa-ti ma-'-as-si ⁵⁰
	78	a-na e-peš abrakku-u-ti a-na ninua(ki)
§A	79	ú- ⁵¹ bi-lu-nim ⁵¹ -ma ú-na-áš- ⁵² ši-qu ⁵² šêpê(II)-ia§ ⁵³
¶A	80	¶e-li (I)mu-gal- ^{53a} li ^{53a} sîsê(meš) ⁵⁴ rabûti(meš) ⁵⁴
§A	81	ma-da-at-tu šat-ti-šam- ⁵⁵ ma ⁵⁵ ú-kin šîru-uš-šu§
¶A	82	¶ul-tu (I)ia-ki-in-lu-u šâr (mātu) ⁵⁶ a-ru-ad ⁵⁶ -da
	83	⁵⁷ il-li-ku a-na šim-ti ⁵⁷ (I)a-zi-ba- ⁵⁸ ⁵⁸ -al (I)a-bi-ba- ⁵⁹ ⁵⁹ -al
§A		(I)a-du-ni-ba- ⁶⁰ ⁶⁰ -al§ ⁶¹
¶A	84	¶mârê(meš) (I)ia-ki-in-lu-u a-šib qabal tam-tim
	85	ul-tu qabal tam-tim e-lu-nim-ma
	86	it-ti ta-mar-ti-šu-nu ka-bit-ti ⁶² il-lik-u-nim-ma ⁶²
	87	ú-na-áš-ši-qu šêpê(II)-ia

cepted from him. (**B**₄ *adds*: I turned [the face] of my yo[ke and]) ⁶⁶I returned safely to Nineveh, the city of my lordship. ⁶⁷When the princes in the midst of the sea and kings ⁶⁸dwelling on high mountains ⁶⁹beheld the might of these deeds of mine, ⁷⁰they feared my dominion.

⁷¹Yakinlû, king of Arvad (**F** **F**₂ **A** *add*: dwelling in the midst of the sea), ⁷²Mugallu, king of Tabal, ⁷³Sandišarme of Cilicia, ⁷⁴who had not been submissive to my royal ancestors, ⁷⁵submitted to my yoke (had not drawn their yoke **A**), ⁷⁶brought me (their) daughters, the offspring of their loins, with ⁷⁷great gifts and great dowries ⁷⁸to Nineveh to be ladies-in-waiting, ⁷⁹and kissed my feet. ⁸⁰Concerning Mugallu—great horses ⁸¹as tribute annually I imposed upon him. ⁸²When Yakinlû, king of Arvad, ⁸³had died, Aziba'al, Abiba'al, Adoniba'al, ⁸⁴sons of Yakinlû, who dwelt in the midst of the sea, ⁸⁵went up from the midst of the sea and ⁸⁶came to me with their heavy tribute and ⁸⁷kissed my

NOTES FOR COLUMN II

⁴¹⁻⁴¹ *ar-û-a-* **B** (K 1705) **C** (P 6); *ar-û-ad-* **F** (A 8035, A 8036, A 8037) **F**₂.

⁴² **F** **F**₂ **A** *add* *a-šib qabal tam-tim*. **A** inserts a four-line addition here.

⁴³⁻⁴³ *mât (âlu)* **F** (A 8014).

⁴⁴⁻⁴⁴ *-la-a* **B** (P 1); *-a-la* **C** (P 6); *-âl* **F** [**F**₂] **A**. **A** inserts a six-line addition.

⁴⁵⁻⁴⁵ *-da-* **B** (P 1) **F**₂ **A**.

⁴⁶ Not the classical Cilicia, but the *stratêgeia* of that name in the province of Cappadocia (Olmstead, *History of Assyria* [New York, 1923] pp. 125, 420).

⁴⁷⁻⁴⁷ *ik-nu-šu* **A**.

⁴⁸⁻⁴⁸ *la i-šu-tu ap-ša-an-šu-un* **A**.

⁴⁹⁻⁴⁹ **A** om.

⁵⁰⁻⁵⁰ **F** [**F**₂] **A** om.

⁵¹⁻⁵¹ *-bil-am-* **A**.

⁵²⁻⁵² *-šiq* **A**.

⁵³ Ll. 80-81 immediately precede the line corresponding to **B** ii 73 in **A**.

^{53a-53a} *-lu* **C** (P 6).

⁵⁴⁻⁵⁴ **A** om.

⁵⁵⁻⁵⁵ **B** (A 7934) om.

⁵⁶⁻⁵⁶ *ar-û-a-* **C** (P 6); *a-ru-a-* **F** (A 8014, A 8016, A 8039); *ar-û-ad-* **F** (A 8018, A 8040) **F**₂.

⁵⁷⁻⁵⁷ *e-me-du šadâ-šu* **A**.

⁵⁸⁻⁵⁸ **B** (K 1709) om.

⁵⁹⁻⁵⁹ **B** (A 7944) om.

⁶⁰⁻⁶⁰ **B** (A 7934, A 7944) om.

⁶¹ **A** inserts an addition here.

⁶²⁻⁶² **F** **F**₂ om.

- 88 (I)a-zi-ba-'-al ḥa-diš ap-pa-lis-ma
89 a-na šarru-u-ti (mātu)⁶³a-ru-ad⁶³-da áš-kun⁶⁴
§A 90 (I)a-bi-ba-⁶⁵65'-al (I)a-du-ni-ba-^{65a}65a'-al§⁶⁶
¶A 91 ¶lu-bul-tu bir-me ú-lab-biš šemirê(meš) ⁶⁷ḥurâši áš-kun⁶⁷
§C 92 ina maḥ-ri-ia ul-zi-is-su§-nu-ti
93 (I)gu-ug-gu šâr (^{65a}mātu^{65a})lu-ud-di na-gu-u ša⁶⁸ ni-bir-ti
tâmti
94 áš-ru ru-u-qu ša šarrâni(meš) abbê(meš)-ia la iš-mu-u zi-
kir šumi-šu
95 ni-bit ⁶⁹šarrû-ti⁶⁹-ia ina šutti ú-šab-ri-šu-ma
§A 96 ašur ⁷⁰ilu⁷⁰ ba-nu-u-a§⁷¹
¶A 97 ¶ûmu(mu) šuttu an-ni-tu e-mu-ru (amêlu)rak-bu-šu iš-
pu-ra
¶C 98 a-na ša-'-al šul-me-ia⁷¹ (amêlu)gi-mir⁷²-a-a ⁷³(amêlu)nak-
ru iq-¶šu⁷³
99 ša la ip-tal-la-ḥu abbê(meš)-ia ù ⁷⁴ia-a-ši⁷⁴ la iš-ba-tu
šêpâ(II) šarru-ti-ia⁷⁵

feet. ⁸⁸I looked favorably on Aziba'al and ⁸⁹made him king of Arvad. ⁹⁰Abiba'al (and) Adoniba'al ⁹¹I clothed with brightly colored garments, put rings of gold (on them) (encircled their fingers with rings A), ⁹²caused them to stand before me. ⁹³Gyges, king of Lydia, a district which is by the shore of the sea, ⁹⁴a distant place the mere mention of the name of which my royal ancestors had not heard— ⁹⁶Ashur, the great god who begat me, ⁹⁵caused him to see my royal name in a dream. ⁹⁷The day on which he saw this dream he sent his mounted messenger ⁹⁸to ask my welfare. The Cimmerian, a wicked foe ⁹⁹who had not feared my ancestors and who as for me had not caught hold of my royal feet, (A adds: he conquered)

NOTES FOR COLUMN II

⁶³⁻⁶³ *a-ru-a* F (A 8039); *ar-ú-ad* F (A 8014, A 8016).

⁶⁴ A adds *-šu*.

⁶⁵⁻⁶⁵ B (A 7936, K 1713) om.

^{65a-65a} B (P 2) om.

⁶⁶ A inserts a two-line addition here.

⁶⁷⁻⁶⁷ *ú-rak-ki-sa rit-te-e-šu-un* A.

⁶⁸ F₂ adds *ina*.

⁶⁹⁻⁶⁹ *šumi-* A.

⁷⁰⁻⁷⁰ B (A 7935) F (P 7) om.

⁷¹ A inserts a two-line addition here.

⁷² F (A 8039, A 8042) A add *-ra-*.

⁷³⁻⁷³ *mu-dal-li-bu niše(meš) máti-šu* A. On the reading of K 2732: Mr. Sidney Smith kindly examined the passage at the writer's request and wrote as follows (March 11, 1932): "The signs after (*amel*) *gi-mir-ai* cannot in my opinion be read at all. *ša ik-šu-di* is an unsuccessful attempt to read marks in the clay where signs have disappeared. There is no reason to suppose the signs were not (*amel*) *nak-ru iq-šu*."

⁷⁴⁻⁷⁴ *ia-a-ti* C; *at-tu-u-a* F F₂ A.

⁷⁵ A adds *ik-šu-ud*.

Column iii

- 1 ina tu-kul-ti ašur ¹(ilu)marduk¹ bêlê(meš)-ia²
2 ina (iṣu)ṣi-iṣ-ṣi (iṣu)eš³-qa-ti ⁴(iṣu)ṣi-ga-ri⁴ ú-tam-me-
iḫ-ma
3 it-ti ta-mar-ti-šu ka-bit-ti ú-še-bi-la
§F F₂ A 4 a-di maḫ-ri-ia §⁵ ⁶a-tam-ma-ru da-na-an ašur u (ilu)-
marduk⁶
-
- 5 ina rebê(e) gir-ri-ia a-na (âlu)kir-bít
6 ša qí-rib (âlu)ḫa-ri-e-ḫa-as-⁷ta⁷ lu-u al-lik
7 ša (I)ta-an-da (amêlu)ḫazâni-šu-nu a-na šarrâni(meš)
abbê(meš)-ia
8 la ik-nu-šu a-na ni-ri u nišê(meš) a-ši-bu-ti (âlu)kir-bít
9 ka-a-a-an iḫ-ta-nab-ba-tu ḫu-bu-ut (mātu)ia-mut-ba-li⁸
10 [^{8a}ina t^{8a}]ukul-ti ašur^{8b} (ilu)bêl ^{9a}u⁹ (ilu)nabû ^{9a}[¹⁰ilâni(meš)
rabûti(meš)¹⁰] bêlê(meš)-ia^{9a}
11 ¹¹âlu šu-a-[^{8a}tu¹¹ ak^{8a}]-šu-ud áš-lu-la šal-lat-su
§C 12 (I)tan-da (amêlu)ḫazâna-šu-nu § [^{12a}aš-bat¹²]
13 ina mât âli-šu al-qa-a a-na (mātu)aš-šur(ki)
14 [¹³nišê(meš)¹³] (âlu)kir-bít ma-la áš-lu-lu
15 [¹³as-s¹³]uḫ-ma qí-rib (mātu)mu-šur ú-ša-aš-bit
-

Column iii

¹with the help of Ashur (and) Marduk (Ishtar **F F₂**; Ishtar, the gods **A**), my lords, (**A adds**: from among the governors of the Cimmerians whom he had conquered, two governors) ²he bound with chains, shackles, (and) fetters (shackles of iron, bonds of iron **A**) and ³with his heavy tribute sent ⁴into my presence, (that) I might behold the might of Ashur and Marduk.

⁵On my fourth campaign I marched against Kirbit, ⁶which is in the midst of Harêhastā, ⁷whose mayor, Tanda, was not submissive to the yoke of my royal ancestors, ⁸while the people inhabiting Kirbit ⁹kept constantly plundering Yamutbal (**C adds**: that city). ¹⁰[With the help of Ashur, Bêl, and Nabû, [the great gods,] my lords (Ashur, Sîn, Šamaš, Bêl, Nabû, Ishtar of Nineveh, Ishtar of Arbela **C**), ¹¹[I captured tha[t] city, carried off its spoil. ¹²Tanda, their mayor, [I captured] ¹³in the domain of his city, carried (him) to Assyria. ¹⁴[The people] of Kirbit, as many as I had taken, ¹⁵[I took a]way and settled (them) in Egypt.

NOTES FOR COLUMN III

¹⁻¹ *u (ilu)ištar ilāni(meš)* (**F [F₂]** om. *ilāni(meš)*) **F F₂ A**.

² **A** adds *ul-tu lîb-bi (amêlu)hazânâte(meš) ša (amêlu)gi-mir-ra-a-a ša ik-šu-du 2 (amêlu)hazânâte(meš)*.

³ The sign has the shape of a **KUR**.

⁴⁻⁴ *parzilli bi-ri-ti parzilli A*.

⁵ **A** inserts an addition here.

⁶⁻⁶ **C** om. With reference to the reading of K 2732, Mr. Sidney Smith states (in the letter referred to above, p. 47, n. 73): "The signs are not perfect, and seem to have undergone 'cleaning' according to the methods described by Budge, *Rise and Progress of Assyriology* [London, 1925] p. 284. Winckler's reading is fantastic; but there are marks of a knife, not wedges, which explain it."

⁷⁻⁷ *-ti B* (A 7947).

⁸ **C** adds *âlu šu-a-tu*.

^{8a-8a} **C**.

^{8b} **C** adds *(ilu)sîn (ilu)šamaš*.

⁹⁻⁹ **B** (A 7951) **C** om.

^{9a-9a} *(ilu)ištar ša nin[ua(k)i] (ilu)ištar ša arba-ilu C*.

¹⁰⁻¹⁰ Conjectural.

¹¹⁻¹¹ **C** om.

¹²⁻¹² Conjectural; A 7952 allows space for about two signs.

¹³⁻¹³ **E** iv 7; K 228 + K 2675 Rev. 12.

- ¶F F₂ A** 16 ¶[ina¹⁴ ¹⁵ḥanši(ši)¹⁵] gir-ri-ia eli (I) aḥ-še-e-ri
§F F₂ A 17 [šàr¹⁴] (mātu)man-na-a-a ¹⁶lu-u al-lik¹⁶§
 18 [š]a a-na šarrâni(meš) abbê(meš)-ia la kit-nu-šu
 19 [. . .]-a-ti
 20 ad-ki šâbê(meš)-[ia . . .] (mātu)man-na-a-a [. . .]
 21 al-lik-ma qí-rib [. . .] aš(?) -šur(?) [. . .] ad-di-ma áš-ku-nu
 22 [¹⁷. . . ¹⁷k]a-ra-ši
¶C 23 (I) aḥ-¶še-e-ri a-lak gir-ri-[ia] iš-me-ma
 24 ú-[ma]-'-e-ra [¹⁸ummanâtê(ḥá)-šu¹⁸]
 25 ina šat mu-ši ina ši-pir ni-kil-ti
 26 a-na e-peš tâḥâzi it-bu-u-ni
 27 a-na [mit]-ḥu-uš-ši ummanâtê(ḥá)-ia
 28 šâbê(meš) tâḥâzi-ia it-ti-šu-un im-daḥ-ḥa-ṣu
 29 iš-ku-nu abikta-šu-un
 30 ma-lak 3 bêri eqli šal-ma-ti-šu-nu ú-mal-^{18a}lu-u^{18a} šêra rap-
 šu
¶F F₂ A 31 ¶ina qí-bit aš-šur¹⁹ (ilu)sîn (ilu)šamaš ²⁰ilâni(meš) rabûti-
 (meš) bêlê(meš)-ia²⁰
 32 ²¹ša ú-tak-ki-lu-in-ni²¹ qí-¹⁴rib (mātu)man¹⁴]-na-a-a e-ru-
 ub-ma
§F F₂ A 33 at-tal-la-ka šal-ṭišš²²
 34 [²³ina me-ti-iq gir²³]-ri-ia (álu)a-a-ú-si-áš (álu)ḥal-ṣu²⁴
 35 (álu)pa(?) -ša(?)-[²⁵. . . -su(?)²⁵] (álu)bu-su-tú (álu)áš-di-
²⁶ia²⁶-áš
 36 (álu)ur-ki-ia-mu-un [(álu)]up-pi-iš (álu)si-ḥu-u-a (álu)na-
 zi-ni-ri
¶F F₂ A 37 ¶[²³g²⁷ âlâni(meš)²³]²⁸ dan-nu-ti ù²⁷ ši-iḥ-ru-te [²⁹ša ni-i-
 b²⁹]a l[^{29a} i²⁹]-šu-u
¶D 38 ¶a-di qí-rib (álu)i-zer-te ak-šu-ud
 39 ab-bul aq-qur ina (ilu)GIŠ.BAR aq-mu

¹⁶[On] my [fifth] (third **F F₂**; fourth **A**) campaign, I marched (made a straight road **F F₂ A**) against Aḥšêri, ¹⁷[king] of Mannayya, ¹⁸[wh]o had not been submissive to my royal ancestors. ¹⁹[. . .] ²⁰I mustered [my] troops [. . .] Mannayya [. . .] ²¹I marched, and in the midst of [. . .] Ashur(?) [. . .] I threw and set up ²²[. . .] my [c]amp. ²³When Aḥšêri heard of the advance of [my] army ²⁴he [dis]patched [his troops]. ²⁵During the night stealthily ²⁶they advanced to give battle, ²⁷to engage my troops. ²⁸The soldiers of my battle array fought with them, ²⁹accomplished their defeat. ³⁰(Over) an area three double-hours in length, they (**I C**) filled the wide plain with their corpses. ³¹At the command of Ashur, Sîn, Šamaš (**F F₂ A add:** Adad, Bêl, Nabû, Ishtar of Nineveh, the Queen of Kidmuri, Ishtar of Arbela, Ninurta, Nergal, Nusku), the great gods, my lords, ³²who came to my aid, I i[n]vaded [Man]nayya and ³³advanced victoriously. ³⁴[In the course] of my [cam]paign the fortress Ayyausiaš, ³⁵Paša[. . .su(?)], Busutu, Ašdīaš, ³⁶Urkiamun, Uppiš, Siḥûa, Naziniri, ³⁷[8] (**F F₂ A add:** of his) strong [cities] and small ones as well [witho]ut [numbe]r ³⁸all the way to Izertu I conquered, ³⁹I destroyed, I devastated, **I** burned with fire.

NOTES FOR COLUMN III

¹⁴ **F**.

¹⁵⁻¹⁵ *šalši(ši)* **F F₂**; *rebē(e)* **A**.

¹⁶⁻¹⁶ *uš-te-eš-še-ra ḥar-ra-nu* **F F₂ A**; **F F₂ A** om. ll. 18-30.

¹⁷⁻¹⁷ **A** 7950 allows space for approximately eleven signs.

¹⁸⁻¹⁸ Conjectural; after George Smith, *History*, p. 89.

^{18a-18a} *-li* **C**.

¹⁹ *Sic!*

²⁰⁻²⁰ *(ilu)adad* <**F [F₂]** om. *(ilu)adad* *(ilu)bêl* *(ilu)nabû* *(ilu)ištar ša ninua(ki)* *(ilu)šar-rat kid-mu-ri* <**F [F₂]** om. *(ilu)šar-rat kid-mu-ri* *(ilu)ištar ša (ilu)arba-ilu* *(ilu)nínurta* *(ilu)nergal* *(ilu)nusku* **F F₂ A**.

²¹⁻²¹ **F [F₂]** **A** om.

²² **F F₂ A** om. ll. 34-36.

²³⁻²³ **C**.

²⁴ **A** 7954 shows that *(ilu)ḥal-šu* is not to be taken as a proper name and included as one of the eight cities.

²⁵⁻²⁵ George Smith, *History*, p. 90. There is room in the gap for three signs at the most.

²⁶⁻²⁶ **B** (K 1713) om.

²⁷ **F F₂ A** om.

²⁸ **F F₂ A** add *-šu*.

²⁹⁻²⁹ **F**.

- § C 40 nišêš(meš) sîsê(meš) imêrê(meš) alpê(meš)³⁰ ši-e-ni
 41 ul-tu qf-rib âlâni(meš) ša-a-tu-nu
 42 ú-še-ša-am-ma šal-la-tiš am-nu
 43 (I)aḥ-še-e-ri a-lak gir-ri-ia iš-me-ma
 44 ú-maš-šîr (âlu)i-zer-tu al šarru-ti-šu
 45 a-na (âlu)³¹at-ra-a-na³¹ âl tukul-ti-šu in-na-bit³²
- § F F₂ A 46 e-ḥu-uz mar-ki-tuš³³
 ¶ C 47 (âlu)i-zer-tu ¶(âlu)ur-me-³⁴e³⁴-te (âlu)uz-bi-a âlâni(meš)
 dan-nu-ti-³⁵šu³⁵ al-me
 48 nišê(meš) a-ši-bu-ti âlâni(meš) ša-a-tu-nu
 49 e-si-ir-ma nap-šat-su-nu ú-si-iq ú-kar-ri
- ¶ F F₂ A 50 ¶na-gu-u šu-a-tu ak-šu-ud ³⁶ab-bul aq-qur ina (ilu)GİŠ.
 BAR aq-mu³⁶
 51 ma-lak 10 ûmê(me) 5 ûmê(me) ú-šaḥ-ri-³⁷ir³⁷-ma ša-qu-
 um-ma-tu§ C at-bu-uk§ F F₂ A³⁸
- § C F F₂ A 52 ina me-ti-iq ¶gir-ri-ia âlâni(meš) ša li-me-it (âlu)pad-
 di-³⁹ri³⁹
 53 ša ina tir-ši šarrâni(meš) abbê(meš)-ia (mātu)man-na-a-a
 e-ki-mu
 54 a-na ⁴⁰i-di⁴⁰ ra-ma-ni-šu-nu ú-tir-ru
 55 ak-šu-ud ina (ilu)GİŠ.BAR aq-mu áš-lu-la šal-lat-sun
 56 âlâni(meš) ša-a-tu-nu a-na mi-šîr (mātu)ašur(ki) ú-tir⁴¹
 57 na-gu-u ša (âlu)ar-si-ia-ni-iš
 58 ša bi-rit (âlu)a-za-qa-⁴²na-a⁴²-ni
 59 ša ⁴³(šadû)⁴³ ḥa-ar-si ša-di-e
 60 ša rêš (mātu)ku-mu-ur-da-a-a ša qf-rib (mātu)man-na-
 a-a
 61 as-pu-un ina (ilu)GİŠ.BAR aq-mu (I)ra-a-a-di-ša-di-e
 62 (amêlu)râb-(âlu)ḥal-šu-šu-nu a-duk áš-lu-la šal-lat-su
 63 na-gu-u ša (âlu)⁴⁴e⁴⁴-ri-⁴⁵is⁴⁵-te-ia-na
 64 ak-šu-ud âlâni(meš)-šu as-pu-un
 65 ina (ilu)GİŠ.BAR aq-mu áš-lu-la šal-la-⁴⁶sun⁴⁶
 66 ina ti-ib ta-ḥa-zi-ia na-gu-u-šu ú-šaḥ-rib
 67 ú-ša-aḥ-ḥi-ir nap-ḥar mâti-šu
 68 it-ti ḥu-ub-ti ma-⁷-di
- § B₂ 69 šal-la-tu ka-bit-tu šal-meš a-tu-raš
 70 ak-bu-sa mi-šîr (mātu)aš-šur(ki)
 71 (âlu)bi-ir-⁴⁷ru⁴⁷-u-a (âlu)šarru-iq-bi

⁴⁰People, horses, asses, cattle, sheep ⁴¹out of those cities ⁴²I led forth and counted as spoil. ⁴³When Aḥšêri heard of the advance of my army, ⁴⁴he forsook Izertu, his royal city, ⁴⁵fled to Atrâna, a garrisoned city of his, ⁴⁶sought refuge. ⁴⁷Izertu, Urmête, Uzbâ, his strong cities, I surrounded. ⁴⁸The people inhabiting those cities ⁴⁹I shut up, straitened their souls, and hemmed (them) in. ⁵⁰That district I conquered, destroyed, devastated, burned with fire. ⁵¹A distance of ten days, five days I laid it waste and deluged it with misery. ⁵²In the course of my campaign I conquered the cities in the vicinity of Paddiri, ⁵³which in the days of my royal ancestors Mannayya had seized (and) ⁵⁴annexed to their own border (*lit.*, side). ⁵⁵I burned (them) with fire, carried off their booty. ⁵⁶Those cities I annexed to the territory of Assyria. ⁵⁷The district of Arsianiš, ⁵⁸which is between Azaqayâni ⁵⁹and Mount Ḥarsi, a mountain ⁶⁰which is at the head of the Kumurdean country, which is within Mannayya, ⁶¹I laid waste, burned with fire. Rayyadišadê, ⁶²the captain of their defenses, I killed; his spoil I carried off. ⁶³The district of Eristeyana ⁶⁴I captured, laid waste its cities, ⁶⁵burned (them) with fire, carried off their spoil. ⁶⁶During the progress of my campaign I devastated his (*i.e.*, Aḥšêri's) district, ⁶⁷diminished the size (*lit.*, total) of his land. ⁶⁸With much plunder, ⁶⁹rich booty, I returned safely, ⁷⁰entered the territory of Assyria. ⁷¹Birrua, Šarruiqbi,

NOTES FOR COLUMN III

³⁰ **F F₂ A** add *u*.

³¹⁻³¹ *at-ra-a-ni* **F F₂**; *te-ra-a-na* **B** (K 1705); *iš-ta-at-ti* **A**.

³² **F A** add *-ma*.

³³ **F F₂ A** om. ll. 47-49.

³⁴⁻³⁴ *-ia-* **B** (A 7956, K 1705).

³⁵⁻³⁵ **B** (K 2732) om.

³⁶⁻³⁶ **F [F₂] A** om.

³⁷⁻³⁷ *-ib-* **B** (K 1705, K 2732) **F [F₂] A**.

³⁸ **F F₂ A** om. ll. 52-81.

³⁹⁻³⁹ *-ra* **D**.

⁴⁰⁻⁴⁰ **B** (K 1705) om.

⁴¹ **B** (K 1705) **B₂** add *-ru*.

⁴²⁻⁴² *-na-* **B₂**; *-ia-* **D**.

⁴³⁻⁴³ **D** om.

⁴⁴⁻⁴⁴ *ia-* **B** (A 7946).

⁴⁵⁻⁴⁵ *-iš-* **B₂**.

⁴⁶⁻⁴⁶ *-su* **B₂**.

⁴⁷⁻⁴⁷ **B** (A 7934, K 1705) om.

- 72 (âlu)gu-su-ni-e âlâni(meš) maḥ-ru-u-te
 73 ša mi-ṣir (mātu)aš-šur(ki)
 74 ša ina tir-ši šarrâni(meš) abbê(meš)-ia
 75 e-ki-mu (mātu)man-na-a-a
 76 da-ád-me ša-a-tu-nu ak-šu-ud
 §D 77 (mātu)man-na-a-a ul-tu lib-bi as-suḥṣ
 78 sisê(meš) (iṣu)be-li ú-nu-ut tâḫâzi-šu-nu
 79 áš-lu-la a-na (mātu)aš-šur(ki)
 80 âlâni(meš) ša-a-tu-nu a-na eš-šu-ti aš-bat
 81 ú-tir-ra a-na mi-ṣir (mātu)aš-šur(ki)
 ¶F F₂ A §A 82 ¶(I)aḫ-še-e^{47a}ri^{47a} la pa-liḫ bēlû-ti iaṣ
 83 ašur^{48u}⁴⁸ (ilu)ištar im-nu-⁴⁹šu⁴⁹ ⁵⁰i-na⁵⁰ qâtâ(II) ardâni-
 (meš)-šu
 ¶A 84 ¶nišê(meš) mâti-šu si-ḫu eli-šu ú-šab-šu-u
 85 ina sūq âli-šu⁵¹ id-du-u⁵² (amêlu)pa-gar-šu⁵³
 ¶C 86 arkânu (I)ú-^{54a}⁵⁴al-li-⁵⁴ⁱ⁵⁴ mâri-šu ¶ú-šib i-na (iṣu)kussí-
 šu
 87 da-na-an ašur⁵⁵ (ilu)bêl⁵⁶ (ilu)nabû
 88 (ilu)ištar ša (âlu)ninua(ki)⁵⁷ (ilu)ištar ša (âlu)arba-
 ilu(ki)⁵⁸
 89 ilâni(meš) rabûti(meš) bēlê(meš)-ia e-mur-ma
 90 ik-nu-ša a-na ni-ri-ia
 91 áš-šu ba-laṭ napišti(tim)-šu up-na-a-šu
 92 ip-ta-a ú-šal-la-a be-lu-u-ti
 93 (I)e-ri-si-in-ni mâr ri-du-ti-šu
 94 a-na ninua(ki) iš-pur-am-ma ú-na-áš-ši-iq šêpê(II.meš)-ia
 95 ri-e-mu ar-ši-šu-⁵⁹ma⁵⁹
 96 (amêlu)mâr-šip-ri-ia ša šul-me ú-ma-'ir ši-ru-uš-šu
 97 mâr-tu ši-it lib-bi-šu ú-še-bi-la a-na e-peš⁶⁰ab-rak-ku-ti⁶⁰
 98 ma-da-at-ta-šu maḥ-ri-tu ša ina tir-ši šarrâni(meš)
 abbê(meš)-ia
 99 ú-šab-ṭi-lu iš-šu-u-ni a-di maḥ-ri-ia

⁷²Gusunê, former cities ⁷³of the Assyrian frontier, ⁷⁴which in the time of my royal ancestors ⁷⁵Mannayya had seized—⁷⁶these settlements I conquered, ⁷⁷drove the Mannean out of them. ⁷⁸Horses, weapons, their implements of war ⁷⁹I carried off to Assyria, ⁸⁰organized those cities anew, ⁸¹annexed them to the border of Assyria. ⁸²Aḥšêri, who did not respect my dominion—⁸³Ashur and Ishtar counted him into the hands of his servants; ⁸⁴the people of his land started an insurrection against him, ⁸⁵threw his body into the street of his city (A *adds*: left behind his corpse, struck down his brothers, his family, the seed of his father's house with weapons). ⁸⁶Afterward Ualli, his son, seated himself on his throne. ⁸⁷Because he had beheld the might of Ashur (B *variant adds*: Sîn, Šamaš; A *adds*: Sîn, Šamaš, Adad), Bêl, Nabû, ⁸⁸Ishtar of Nineveh (A *adds*: the Queen of Kidmuri), Ishtar of Arbela (B *variant adds*: Ninurta, Nusku, and Nergal), ⁸⁹the great gods, my lords, ⁹⁰he submitted to my yoke. ⁹¹To save his life he spread forth his hands, ⁹²besought my lordship. ⁹³Erisinni, his heir apparent, ⁹⁴he sent to Nineveh and kissed my feet. ⁹⁵I took pity on him and ⁹⁶dispatched my messenger of peace to him. ⁹⁷A daughter, the offspring of his loins, he sent to be a lady-in-waiting. ⁹⁸The former tribute, which in the time of my royal ancestors ⁹⁹they had permitted to lapse, they brought before me (again).

NOTES FOR COLUMN III

^{47a-47a} -ra F (30425).

⁴⁸⁻⁴⁸ B (A 7946) om.

⁴⁹⁻⁴⁹ -u F (except P 8) F₂.

⁵⁰⁻⁵⁰ a-na B (A 7946).

⁵¹ A *adds* (amêlu)ša-lam-ta-šu.

⁵² F [F₂] *add* -šu; A *adds* -šu (A (var.) om. -šu) in-da-áš-ša-ru.

⁵³ A *adds* aḥḥê(meš)-šu qin-nu-šu zêr bît abi-šu ú-šam-qi-tu ina (iṣu)kakkê(meš).

⁵⁴⁻⁵⁴ F F₂ om.

⁵⁵ B (K 1707) F F₂ *add* (ilu)sîn (ilu)šamaš; A *adds* (ilu)sîn (ilu)šamaš (ilu)adad.

⁵⁶ B (K 1707) *adds* u.

⁵⁷ A *adds* (ilu)šar-rat kid-mu-ri.

⁵⁸ B (K 1707) *adds* (ilu)nînurta (ilu)nusku (ilu)nergal; F F₂ A *add* (ilu)nînurta (ilu)nergal u (A om. u) (ilu)nusku.

⁵⁹⁻⁵⁹ B (A 7944, A 7960, K 1713) om.

⁶⁰⁻⁶⁰ A 7935; see p. 43, n. 33.

Column iv

	1	30 sîsê(meš) eli ma-da-at-ti-šu maḥ-ri-ti
§F F ₂ A	2	ú-rad-di-ma e-me-is-suš
§C	3	ina ûmê(me)-šu- ¹ ma ¹ (I)bi-ri- ² is ² š-ḥa-at-ri (amêlu)-ḥazânu ša mad-a-a
	4	(I)šar-a-ti (I)pa-ri- ³ ḫi ³ ⁴ 2 ⁴ mârê(meš)- ⁵ zu ⁵ (I)ga-a-gi
	5	(amêlu)ḥazân (mātu)ša-ḫi ša is-lu-u-a (iṣu)nîr bêlu-u-ti-ia
¶C	6	¶75 âlâni(meš)-šu- ⁶ nu ⁶ dan-nu-ti ak-šu-ud áš-lu-la šal- lat-su-un
	7	ša-a-šu-nu bal-ṭu-su-nu ina qa-ti aš-bat
	8	ú-bi-la a-na (âlu)ninua(ki) âl be-lu-ti-ia
	9	(I)an-da-ri-a ⁷ (amêlu)bêl-paḥât ⁷ ⁸ (mātu)u-ra-ár-ṭi ⁸
	10	ša a-na ka-ša-ad (mātu ⁹) ¹⁰ up ¹⁰ -pu-um-me ¹¹ u ¹¹ (mātu ¹²)- kul-li-im-me-ri
	11	ir-da-a il-li-ka qí-rib mu-ši-ti
	12	nîšê(meš) a-ši-bu-te (âlu)kul-li-im-me-ri
	13	ardâni(meš) da-gil pa-ni-ia
	14	ina šat mu-ši di-ik-ta-šu ma- ¹ as-su i-du-ku
	15	la iz-zi-bu a-a-um-ma
	16	qaqqad ¹³ (I)an-da-ri-e ¹³ ik-ki-su-nim-ma
	17	a-na (âlu)ninua(ki) ina ¹⁴ maḥ-ri-ia ú-bil-u-ni
§C	18	ina šešši(ši)š gir-ri-ia eli (I)ur-ta-ki šâr (mātu)elamti(ki)
	19	lu-u al-lik ša ṭabti abi ba-ni-ia la ḥa-as-su
	20	la iṣ-ṣu-ru ib-ru-ti ul-tu ina (mātu)elamti(ki)

Column iv

¹Thirty horses above the former tribute ²I added and imposed upon him.

³At that time Birishatri, a chieftain of the Medes(?), ⁴Šarati (and) Parihi, his two sons, Gagi, ⁵chieftain of the Saḥi, who had thrown off the yoke of my dominion—⁶seventy-five of their strong cities I conquered, carried off their spoil. ⁷Themselves I took alive with (my own) hands, ⁸brought them to Nineveh, the city of my lordship. ⁹Andaria, governor of Armenia, ¹⁰who had advanced to capture Upumme and Kullimmeri, ¹¹had marched out in the middle of the night, ¹²(and) had killed the people living in Kullimmeri, ¹³servants subject to me, ¹⁴by night in a great massacre ¹⁵(so that) not one escaped—¹⁶the head of Andaria they cut off and ¹⁷brought to Nineveh into my presence.

¹⁸On my sixth campaign I marched against Urtaku, king of Elam, ¹⁹who was not mindful of the favors of the father that begat me, ²⁰and did not maintain friendly relations. When hard times arose in Elam

NOTES FOR COLUMN IV

1-1 B (K 1713) om.

2-2 -si- B (A 7947).

3-3 -ḥa B (A 7935).

4-4 B (K 2732) likewise reads (*I*)*pa-ri-ḥi* 2, but a deceptive bit of dirt has lodged in the middle of the second wedge of the MIN, making it look very much like A.

5-5 B (A 7947, K 2732) om.

6-6 B (A 7935, K 1713) om.

7-7 LÚ.EN.NAM B (A 7947, A 7950, K 1713, K 2732); LÚ.NAM B (A 7935); (*amēlu*)*tur-ta-[an]* C.

8-8 (*mātu*)*u-ra-ār-ṭi* B (A 7935); (*mātu*)*ur-ār-ṭi* B (A 7950); (*mātu*)*ur-ar-ṭi* B (A 7947, A 7962). The editions of K 2732 read (*mātu*)*lu-UB-DI* (Smith, *loc. cit.*; WKA, p. 41), but in "cleaning" K 2732 the sign UR in this passage was badly damaged, so badly that it does not look like an UR. But LU it is not, nor can it have ever been!

9 (*ālu*) B (A 7935, K 1713); text: B (K 2732) C.

10-10 B (A 7947) om.

11-11 B (A 7935, A 7947) om.

12 (*ālu*) B (A 7935, A 7947, A 7950); text: B (K 2732).

13-13 (*I*)*an-da-ri-a* B (K 1713); (*I*)*an-du-ra-a* B (A 7947).

14 *a-na* B (A 7947).

- 21 su-un-qu iš-ku-nu ib-ba-šu-u ni-ib-ri-^{14a}tu^{14a}
 22 (ilu)nisaba ba-laṭ napišti(tim) nišê(meš) ú-še-bil-šu-ma
 23 aṣ-bat qât(II)-su nišê(meš)-šu ša la-pa-an su-un-qi
 24 in-nab-tu-u-nim-ma ú-ši-bu qí-rib (mātu)aš-šur(ki)
 25 a-di zu-un-nu ina mâti-šu iz-nu-nu ib-ba-šu-u e-bu-ru
 26 nišê(meš) ša-a-tu-nu ša ina mâti-ia ib-lu-ṭu ú-še-bil-šu-ma
 27 (amêlu)elama(ki)-a-a ša te-bu-us-su it-ti lib-bi-ia la da-
 ab-ba-ku
 28 la ḥa-as-sa-ku ši-lit-su (I)bêl-iqiša(ša) (mātu)gam-bu-la-
 a-a
 29 (I.ilu)nabû-šuma-ereš(eš) (amêlu)gû-en-na ardâni(meš)
 da-gil pa-ni-ia
 30 (I.ilu)marduk-šuma-ibni (amêlu)šu-ut-rêšê(meš) ša (I)-
 ur-ta-ki ša
¶K 31 it-ti-šu-nu iš-ku-nu pi-¶i-šu a-na mit-ḥu-ši mât šumerî(ki)
 u akkadî(ki)
 32 ina pi-ir-ša-a-te id-ku-u-ni (I)ur-ta-ki šâr (mātu)elamti-
 (ki)
 33 (I)ur-ta-ki ša la ag-ru-šu
 34 qa-bal-šu id-ka-a a-na (mātu)kar-(ilu)dun-iá-âš ur-ri-ḥa
 ta-ḥa-zu
 35 áš-šu ti-bu-ut (amêlu)e-la-me-e
 36 (amêlu)mâr-šipri a-na ninua(ki) il-li-kam-ma
§K 37 iq-ba-a ia-a-ti a-ma-tiš
 38 ša-a-ti-na ša ti-bu-ut (I)ur-ta-ki
 39 ul áš-[. ¹⁵]-ut ina lib-bi-ia
 40 šu-ut (amêlu)rubê(meš)-šu ša su-lum-me-e
 41 iš-ta-nap-pa-ra ina maḥ-ri-ia
 42 a-na a-mar šâr (mātu)elamti(ki) (amêlu)mâr-šip-ri-ia
¶C 43 ú-ma-'ir ḥa-an-ṭiš [¹⁶áš-pur-ma¹⁶] il-lik ¶i-tu-ram-ma
 44 a-¹⁷ma¹⁷-a-atî ka-a-a-ma-¹⁸na-ti¹⁸
 45 ú-ša-an-na-a ia-a-ti
§C 46 um-ma (amêlu)e-laš-mu-u kîma tibûṭ(ut) aribê(ḥá)
¶C 47 ka-tim (mātu)akkadî(ki) ka-li-ša ši-ir ¶bâbili(ki)
 48 uš-man-nu ša-kin-ma na-di ma-dak-tu a-na na-ra-ru-ti
¶D 49 (ilu)bêl u (ilu)nabû ¹⁹ilâni¹⁹(meš)-ia ¶ša ap-tal-la-ḥu ilu-
 us-su-nu
¶B₂ §C 50 šâbê(meš) tâḥâzi-ia ad-ki-e-ma aṣ-ba-ta ḥar-ra-nu
 51 a-lak gir-ri-ia iš-me-¶e-ma ḥat-tu is-ḥupš-šu-ma
 52 i-tur a-na mâti-šu arka-šu aṣ-bat a-bi-ik-ta-šu áš-kun
 53 aṭ-ru-us-su a-di mi-šir mâti-šu
 54 (I)ur-ta-²⁰ku²⁰ šâr (mātu)elamti(ki) ša la iṣ-šu-ru ib-ru-te
 55 ina ûmê(me) la šim-ti-šu mu-u-tu ú-gar-ru-u

²¹and there was a famine, ²²I sent him grain to keep his people alive, ²³grasped his hand. Those of his people who had fled before the hard times ²⁴and settled in Assyria ²⁵until rain fell in his land and there was a harvest—²⁶those people, who had kept themselves alive in my land, I sent back to him. ²⁷The Elamite, an attack by whom I had never considered with my heart, ²⁸of whose enmity I had not even thought—Bêliqîša, the Gambulean, ²⁹Nabûšumereš, the *guenna*, servants subject to me, ³⁰Mardukšumibni, a general of Urtaku who ³¹had made common cause with them, to war with the land of the Shumerian and the Akkadian ³²they incited Urtaku, king of Elam, with lies. ³³Urtaku, with whom I was not at enmity, ³⁴mustered his army, rushed the war into the land of Karduniash. ³⁵A messenger (with news) concerning the advance of the Elamite ³⁶came to Nineveh and ³⁷told me these things ³⁸of the advance of Urtaku. ³⁹I was unde[cij]ded(?) in my heart. ⁴⁰Those of his nobles who (were for) peace ⁴¹sent to me repeatedly. ⁴²For reconnaissance upon the king of Elam I dispatched my messenger. ⁴³[I sent him] in haste; [and] he went, returned, and ⁴⁴reported reliable information ⁴⁵to me, saying: “The Elamite like the encroachment of grasshoppers ⁴⁷is covering all Akkad. Against Babylon ⁴⁸the camp has been pitched, the halt made.” To aid ⁴⁹Bêl and Nabû, my gods (lords *B variant*), whose divinity I worship, ⁵⁰I mustered my warriors and took the road. ⁵¹When he heard of the advance of my army, fear overcame him, so that ⁵²he returned to his land. I took after him, accomplished his defeat, ⁵³pursued him to the border of his land. ⁵⁴Urtaku, king of Elam, who had not maintained friendly relations—⁵⁵on a day (*lit.*, days) not appointed by fate death became hostile

NOTES FOR COLUMN IV

^{14a-14a} -*e-ti* B (P 3).

¹⁵ There is room in the gap for two signs at the most. The verb *šapâtu* commends itself for consideration, but the traces of the missing sign or signs fail to suggest the form in use here.

¹⁶⁻¹⁶ Conjectural; after George Smith, *History*, p. 102.

¹⁷⁻¹⁷ -*pa-* B (K 1705).

¹⁸⁻¹⁸ -*nu-ma* B (K 1705).

¹⁹⁻¹⁹ *bêlê* B (K 1705).

²⁰⁻²⁰ -*ki* B (K 1705).

- 56 ina ta-ni-ḫi iq-tu-u i-zu-bu
 57 ina qa-q-a-ar ba-la-ti šêpá(II)-šu ul iš-kun
 58 ina šatti-šu na-piš-ta-šu iq-ti il-lik šimat mu-ši-šu
 59 (I)bêl-iqîša(ša) (amêlu.mātu)gam-bu-la-a-a
 60 ša is-lu-u (iṣu)nîr bêlu-u-ti-ia
 61 ina ni-sik ḥumšîri iš-ta-kan na-piš-tu
 62 (I.ilu)nabû-šuma-êreš(eš) (amêlu)gû-en-na la na-šir
 a-di-e
 63 iš-ši a-ga-là-til-la-a mê(meš) malûti(meš)
 64 (I.ilu)marduk-šuma-ibni (amêlu)šu-ut-rêši-šu mu-šad-bi-
 ib-šu
 65 ša limuttu(tu) ú-šak-pi-du a-na (I)ur-ta-ki
 66 e-me-is-su (ilu)marduk šâr ilâni(meš) še-ir-ta-šu rabîtu-
 (tu)
 67 ina ištîr(it) šatti mi-iḫ-rit a-ḫa-meš
 68 iš-ku-nu na-piš-tu
 69 lib-bi ašur ag-gu ul i-nu-uḫ-šu-nu-ti
 70 ul ip-šaḫ-šu-nu-ti
 71 ka-bîr-ti (ilu)iš-tar ša ú-tak-kil-an-ni
 72 palê(e) šarrû-ti-šu iš-ki-pu
 73 be-lut (mātu)e-lam-ti ú-šal-qu-u ša-nam-ma
 74 ar-ka (I)te-um-man tam-šil gallê
 75 ú-šib ina (iṣu)kussî (I)ur-ta-ki
 §B₂ 76 a-na da-a-ki mârê(meš) (I)ur-ta-ki§
 77 ù²¹ mârê(meš) (I)um-man-al²²da²²-še
 §D 78 aḫi (I)ur-ta-ki iš-te-ni'-a (šal)limuttu§
 79 (I)um-man-i-gaš²³(I)um-man-ap-pa²³ (I)tam-ma-ri-tu
 80 mârê(meš)²⁴(I)ur-ta-ki²⁴ šâr (mātu)elamti(ki)
 81 (I)ku-dûr-ru (I)pa-ru-u mârê(meš) (I)um-man-al-da-a-še
 82 šarru²⁵ a-lik pa-ni (I)ur-ta-ki
 83 ù 60 zêr šarri ina la me-ni (amêlu)šâbê(meš)-(iṣu)qašti
 84 mâr²⁶ ba-ni-e ša (mātu)elamti(ki)²⁷
 85 la-pa-an da-a-ki (I)te-um-man
 86 in-nab-tu-nim-ma iṣ-ba-tu šêpá(II.meš) šarru-u-ti-ia

 87 ina sibê(e) gir-ri-ia eli (I)te-um-man
 88 šâr (mātu)elamti(ki) lu-u al-lik
 89 ša eli (I)um-man-²⁸i²⁸-gaš (I)um-man-ap-pa (I)tam-ma-
 ri-tu
 90 mârê(meš) (I)ur-ta-ki šâr (mātu)elamti(ki)
 91 (I)ku-dûr-ru (I)pa-ru-u mârê(meš)
 92 (I)um-man-al-da-še aḫi (I)ur-ta-ki
 93 šâr (mātu)elamti(ki)
 94 (amêlu)rubê(meš)-šu iš-ta-nap-pa-ra a-na še-bu-li

to him, ⁵⁶amid mourning he began to reach his end (and) seep away, ⁵⁷his feet no longer stood in the land of the living (*lit.*, life). ⁵⁸That same year his life came to an end, he went to his dismal fate. ⁵⁹Bêliqîša, the Gambulean, ⁶⁰who had cast off the yoke of my dominion, ⁶¹lost his life through the bite of a boar. ⁶²Nabûšumereš, the *guenna* who did not keep his oath—⁶³dropsy carried him off. ⁶⁴Mar-dukšumibni, his officer, who had misled him, ⁶⁵who had brought evil upon Urtaku—⁶⁶Marduk, king of the gods, laid a heavy penalty upon him. ⁶⁷In a single year both ⁶⁸laid down their lives. ⁶⁹Angry Ashur's heart was not appeased toward them; ⁷⁰not quieted over them was ⁷¹the liver of Ishtar, who had helped me. ⁷²His royal dynasty they overthrew, ⁷³caused another to receive dominion over Elam. ⁷⁴After Teumman, the image of a devil, ⁷⁵had seated himself on the throne of Urtaku, ⁷⁶toward murdering the sons of Urtaku ⁷⁷and the sons of Ummanaldâše, ⁷⁸Urtaku's brother, he plotted his evil plan. ⁷⁹Ummanigaš, Ummanappa, Tammaritu, ⁸⁰sons of Urtaku, king of Elam, ⁸¹Kudurru, Parû, sons of Ummanaldâše, ⁸²the king who preceded Urtaku, ⁸³and sixty (scions) of the seed royal, archers without number, ⁸⁴freemen of Elam, ⁸⁵fled before the murderous fury of Teumman ⁸⁶and caught hold of my royal feet.

⁸⁷On my seventh campaign I marched against Teumman, ⁸⁸king of Elam, ⁸⁹who concerning Ummanigaš, Ummanappa, Tammaritu, ⁹⁰sons of Urtaku, king of Elam, ⁹¹Kudurru, Parû, sons of ⁹²Ummanaldâše, brother of Urtaku, ⁹³king of Elam, ⁹⁴had sent his officials to

NOTES FOR COLUMN IV

²¹ *a-na* B (A 7944, A 7959).

²²⁻²² *-di-* B (A 7935, A 7959).

²³⁻²³ (*I*)*um-ap-pi* B (A 7959).

²⁴⁻²⁴ (*I*)*te-um-man* B (A 7935, A 7959 erased).

²⁵ *amêlu* B (K 1707, K 1843).

²⁶ *mârê(meš)* B (A 7946, K 1707).

²⁷ B (K 1707) adds *ša*.

²⁸⁻²⁸ *-ni-* B (A 7969).

- 95 nišê(meš) ša-a-tu-nu ša in-nab-tu-nim-ma
 96 iṣ-ba-tu šêpê(II)²⁹-ia²⁹ še-bul-šu-nu ul aq-bi-šu
 97 ina muḫḫi me-ri-ḫi-e-te ina qât(II) (I)um-ba-da-ra-a
 98 ù (I.ilu)nabû-damiq(iq) iṣ-ta-nap-pa-ra arḫi-šam
 99 qí-rib (mātu)e-lam-ti uš-tar-ra-aḫ ina puḫur ummanâtê-
 (ḫá)-šu

Column v

- 1 at-kil a-na (ilu)ištar ša ú-tak-kil-an-ni
 2 qí-bit pi-i-šu ir-ḫu-u ul am-gur ul ad-din-šu
 3 mun-nab-ti ša-a-tu-nu (I)te-um-man li-mut-tu
 4 iṣ-te-ni-'-a (ilu)sín iṣ-te-ni-'-šu
 5 itât(meš) (šal)limutti ina (arḫu)du'ûzi attalû šat ur-ri
 adi nûri
 6 uš-ta-ni-iḫ-ma (ilu)šamaš¹e-mur-šu-ma¹ki-ma šu-a-tu-ma
 7 kal² ûmê(me) uš-ta-ni-iḫ a-na qí-it palê(e)
 8 šâr (mātu)elamti(ki) ḫalaq mâti-šu
 9 ú-kal-lim-an-ni enib purussê-šu ša la in-ni-in-nu-u
 10 ina ûmê(me)-šu³ mi-iḫ-ru im-ḫur-šu-ma
 11 šapat-su uk-tam-bil-ma ênu(II)⁴ iṣ-ḫi-ir⁵.⁶ma⁶
 12 ga-ba-ṣu^{6a} iṣ-ša-kin ina lib-bi-'ša⁷
 13 it-ti ip-še-e-ti an-na-a-ti ša ⁸(ilu)sín⁹ u (ilu)ištar⁸

(secure) the extradition of ⁹⁵these people, who had fled and ⁹⁶caught hold of my (B *variant adds*: royal) feet. Their extradition I did not grant him, ⁹⁷on account of the insolent messages which by the hand of Umbadarâ and ⁹⁸Nabûdamiq he had been sending me monthly, ⁹⁹(when) he puffed himself up in Elam before his assembled troops.

Column v

¹I trusted in Ishtar, who had helped me, ²did not grant him the request of his rebellious mouth, nor give him ³those refugees. Teumman plotted evil. ⁴Sîn planned for him ⁵portents of evil. In the month of Tammuz (there was) an eclipse. From daybreak until sunrise ⁶he (*i.e.*, Sîn, the moon-god) went into eclipse (*lit.*, rested), so that Šamaš (the sun-god) saw it and like him ⁷set all those days, to (signify) the end of the reign ⁸of the king of Elam (and) the destruction of his land. ⁹He (*i.e.*, Sîn) revealed to me the fruit of his decision, which is not altered. ¹⁰At that time an accident befell him (*i.e.*, Teumman), and ¹¹his lip was paralyzed and his eye was twisted and ¹²a *gabašu* was placed in its midst. ¹³By these things that Sîn and Ishtar (*variant*: Ashur, Sîn, [Šamaš, Bêl,] Nabû, Ishtar of Nineveh, [Ishtar of Arbela,

NOTE FOR COLUMN IV

²⁹⁻²⁹ *šarrû-ti-ia* B (A 7935).

NOTES FOR COLUMN V

¹⁻¹ A 7962. On this entire passage see the Appendix at the end of this part, pp. 105 ff. Professor Olmstead sees a reference to this eclipse in a badly broken letter published by Harper (*Letters*, No. 284), transliterated and translated by Leroy Waterman, *Royal Correspondence of the Assyrian Empire* I (Ann Arbor, 1930) 196 f.

² So also K 2732.

³ B (A 7962, K 2732) adds *-ma*.

⁴ B (A 7962, P 3, K 10621) adds *-šu*.

⁵ K 10621 (collated).

⁶⁻⁶ K 10621 om.

^{6a} For the rendering of this term cf. Bauer, pp. 12-13, n. 5.

⁷⁻⁷ *-šu* B (A 7962, K 2732).

⁸⁻⁸ *ašur u (ilu)ištar* ((*ilu)ištar* erased), with the following added: (*ilu*)*sîn* [(*ilu*)-*šamaš (ilu)bêl (ilu)nabû (ilu)ištar ša ninua(ki) [(ilu)ištar ša (ilu)arba-ilu (ilu)-nînurta (ilu)]nusku (ilu)nergal* B (K 10621).

⁹ So also K 2732.

- 14 e-pu-šu-uš ul i-ba-áš id-ka-a ummanâtê(há)-šu
 15 ina (arḥu)abi araḥ na-an-mur-ti kakkab qašti
 16 i-sin-ni šar-ra-ti ka-bit-ti mârat (ilu)en-líl
 17 a-na pa-laḥ ilû-ti-ša rabti(ti) áš-ba-ak
 18 ina (álu)arba-ilu álu na-ram lib-bi-¹⁰ša¹⁰
 19 áš-šu ti-bu-ut (amêlu)e-lam-e ša ba-lu-u ^{10a}ilâni(meš)^{10a}
 it-ba-a
 20 ú-ša-an-nu-u-ni ṭe-e-mu
 21 um-ma (I)te-um-man ki-a-am iq-bi
 22 ša (ilu)ištar ú-ša-an-nu-u me-lik ṭe-me-šu
 23 um-ma ul ú-maš-šir a-di al-la-ku
 24 it-ti-šu ip-pu-šu mit-ḥu-šu-tu
 25 šu-ut me-ri-iḥ-ti an-ni-ti ša (I)te-um-man
 26 iq-bu-u am-ḥur ša-qu-te (ilu)iš-tar
 27 a-zi-iz a-na tar-ši-ša ak-me-is ša-pal-ša
 28 ilu-us-sa ú-ša-ap-pa-a il-la-ka di-ma-a-a
 29 um-ma (ilu)be-lit (álu)arba-ilu(ki) a-na-ku (I)aš-šur-
 bâni-apli
 30 šâr (mātu)aš-šur(ki) bi-nu-ut qâtê(II)-ki ša iḥ-šu-ḥu-šu
 ašur
 31 abu ba-nu-ki a-na ud-du-uš eš-ri-e-ti šul-lum par-ši-šu-un
 32 ¹¹na-šar¹¹ pi-ris-ti-šu-un šu-ṭu-ub lib-bi-šu-un im-bu-u
 zi-kir-šu
 33 a-na-ku áš-ri-e-ki áš-te-ni-'i
 34 al-li-ka a-na pa-laḥ ilû-ti-ki ù šul-lum par-ši-ki
 35 ù šu-u (I)te-um-man šâr (mātu)elamti(ki) la mu-ša-kir
 ilâni(meš)
 36 ku-uš-šur ka-li a-na mit-ḥu-uš ummanâtê(há)-ia
 37 um-ma at-ti (ilu)be-lit be-li-e-ti i-lat qab-li be-lit tâḥâzi
 38 ma-li-kat ilâni(meš)
 ¶K 39 ša ina ma-ḥar ašur abi ba-ni-ki ¶(šal)damiqtim taq-bi
 40 ina ni-iš ênê(II)-šu ellêti(meš) iḥ-šu-ḥa-an-ni a-na šarru-
 u-ti
 41 áš-šu (I)te-um-man šâr (mātu)elamti(ki) ša a-na ašur
 42 šâr ilâni(meš) abi ba-ni-ki iḥ-ṭû-u bil-tu [¹²la ú-bi-la¹²]
 id-ka-a um-man-šu
 ¶C 43 iq-šu-ra ta-ḥa-zi ú-ša-'-¶a-la (iṣu)kakkê(meš)-šu
 44 a-na a-lak (mātu)ašur[(ki)] um-ma at-ti qa-rit-ti ilâni-
 (meš) kîma bilti
 45 ina qa-bal tam-ḥa-ri pu-uṭ-ṭi-ru-šu-ma di-kiš-šu me-ḥu-u
 46 šâru lim-nu in-ḥi-ia šu-nu-ḥu-ti (ilu)ištar iš-me-e-ma
 47 la ta-pal-laḥ iq-ba-a ú-šar-ḥi-ša-an-ni lib-bu

Ninurta,] Nusku, Nergal) ¹⁴did to him he was not confounded. He mustered his troops. ¹⁵In Ab, the month of the appearance of the Bow Star, ¹⁶of the feast of the revered Queen, the daughter of Enlil, ¹⁸(when) I was tarrying in Arbela, the city beloved of her heart, ¹⁷to worship her great divinity, ²⁰they brought me intelligence ¹⁹of the advance of the Elamite, who had gone forth without the gods' consent, ²¹stating: "Thus spake Teumman, ²²whose reason Ishtar has dethroned: ²³I will not give up until I have come ²⁴and fought a battle with him.' " ²⁵These insolent words which Teumman ²⁶had uttered I took; into exalted Ishtar's ²⁷presence I stepped; before her I bowed down; ²⁸I besought her divinity, my tears flowing, ²⁹thus: "Lady of Arbela, I, Ashurbanipal, ³⁰king of Assyria, the creature of thy hands, whom Ashur, ³¹the father who begat thee, desired, whom he called (by) name to renovate the sanctuaries, to perform their ordinances, ³²to protect their mysteries, (and) to make glad their hearts—³³I have sought out thy sanctuary, ³⁴I have come to worship thy divinity and to perform thy ordinances; ³⁵and this Teumman, king of Elam, who does not esteem the gods, ³⁶has set in motion all his resources to do battle with my troops. ³⁷Now, O thou Lady of Ladies, Goddess of War, Mistress of Battle, ³⁸Queen of the Gods, ³⁹who didst speak (words of) grace before Ashur, the father who begat thee, ⁴⁰(so that) by the lifting up of his shining eyes he desired me to become king, ⁴¹concerning Teumman, king of Elam, who against Ashur, ⁴²king of the gods, the father who begat thee, has sinned, [withheld] tribute, mustered his troops, ⁴³arrayed (his) hosts, invoked his weapons, ⁴⁴to march against Assyria—O thou Heroine among the gods, like a bundle ⁴⁵rip him open in the midst of the battle; raise up against him a tempest, ⁴⁶an evil wind!" Ishtar heard the sighs I emitted, and ⁴⁷she said, "Fear not!" and comforted me in my heart: ⁴⁸"Because of

NOTES FOR COLUMN V

¹⁰⁻¹⁰ Var. of -ša B (P 3, K 10621, Rm 24).

^{10a-10a} *ili* B (P 3).

¹¹⁻¹¹ *id-ki* B (VA 2972).

¹²⁻¹² Conjectural.

- 48 a-na ni-iš qâtê(II)-ka ša taš-ša-a ênâ(II)-ka im-la-a di-
im-tu
- ¶D 49 ar-ta-ši ri-e-mu ina šat mu-ši šu-a-tu ša am-^{12a}hur^{12a}-ši
50 ištēn(en) (amêlu)šab-ru-u ú-tu-ul-ma i-¶na-aṭ-ṭal šutta
51 i-gi-il-ti-ma tab-rit mu-ši ša (ilu)ištar ú-šab-ru-šu
- §C 52 ú-ša-an-na-a iaš-a-ti um-ma (ilu)iš[tar] a-ši-bat (álu)arba-
ilu
- 53 e-ru-ub-am-ma imna u¹³ šumêla tu-ul-la-ta iš-pa-a-ti
54 tam-ḥa-at (iṣu)qašta i-na i-di-ša
- §K 55 šal-pat nam-ša-[ru] zaq-tu ša e-peš ta-ḥa-ziš
56 ma-ḥar-ša ta-zi-iz ši-i ki-i ummi
57 a-lit-ti i-tam-ma-a it-ti-ka
58 il-si-ka (ilu)ištar ša-qu-ut ilâni(meš) i-šak-kan-ka ṭe-e-mu
59 um-ma ta-na-aṭ-ṭa-la a-na e-peš ša-áš-^{13a}me^{13a}
- ¶B₃ 60 a-šar pa-nu-u-a šak-nu te-ba-ku ¶a-na-ku
61 at-ta ta-qab-bi-¹⁴š¹⁴ um-ma a-šar tal-la-ki
62 it-ti-ki lul-lik (ilu)be-lit bêlêti(meš)
63 ši-i tu-ša-an-nak-ka um-ma at-ta a-kan-na
64 lu-u áš-ba-ta a-šar maš-kán-i-ka
- §B₃ 65 a-kul a-ka-lu ši-ti ku-ru-un-nuš
¶B₂ 66 ¶nin-gu-tu šu-kun nu-'id ilû-ti
67 a-di al-la-ku šip-ru šu-a-tu ¹⁵ip-[pu]-šu¹⁵
68 ú-šak-ša-du šu-um-me-rat lib-bi-ka
69 pa-nu-u-ka ul ur-rak ul i¹⁶nár-ru-ṭa šêpê(II)-ka
70 ul ta-šam-mat le'ût(ut)-ka ina qabal tam-ḥa-ri
71 ina ki-rim-me-ša ṭâbi taḥ-ši-in-ka-ma
72 taḥ-te-na gi-mir la^{16a}-a-ni-ka
73 pa-nu-uš-ša (ilu)GIŠ.BAR in-na-pi-iḥ
74 ¹⁷šam-riš ta-at-ta-ši a-na a-ḥa-a-ti¹⁷
75 e-li (I)te-um-man šâr (mātu)elamti(ki)
76 ša ug-gu-ga-tu pa-nu-uš-ša taš-kun
77 ina^{17a} (arḥu)ulûli ši-pir (ilu)ištarâte(meš) i-sin-ni ašur šêri
78 araḥ (ilu)sîn na-an-nár šamê(e) u iršiti(tim) at-kil a-na
purussî
79 (ilu)nanna-ri nam-ri ù ši-pir^{16a} (ilu)ištar bêlti-ia ša la in-
nin-nu-u
80 ad-ki šâbê(meš) tâḥâzê(meš)-ia mun-taḥ-ši ša ina qí-bit
ašur
81 (ilu)sîn u¹⁸ (ilu)ištar it-ta-na-áš-rab-bi-ṭu ina¹⁸ qa-bal
tam-ḥa-ri

the raising of thy hands which thou hast raised, (because of) thy eyes, filled with tears, ⁴⁹I have had mercy upon thee." During that very same night in which I approached her ⁵⁰a certain seer lay down and saw a dream-vision. ⁵¹When he awoke he recounted the vision which Ishtar had revealed to him ⁵²to me, declaring: "Ishtar dwelling in Arbela ⁵³entered, and right and left she bore quivers; ⁵⁴she held a bow in her hand; ⁵⁵she unsheathed a sharp sword for battle. ⁵⁶Thou stoodest before her. Like the mother of a ⁵⁷child she talked with thee. ⁵⁸Ishtar, the exalted of the gods, addressed thee, giving thee this counsel: ⁵⁹'Thou beholdest a direction to go to war. ⁶⁰Whither my face is set, thither do I go forth.' ⁶¹Thou didst say to her, 'Whither thou goest ⁶²I will go with thee, O Lady of Ladies!' ⁶³She repeated to thee: 'Here thou ⁶⁴shalt stay, where thou art dwelling. ⁶⁵Eat food, drink wine, ⁶⁶provide music, revere my divinity, ⁶⁷until I go and do this deed (and) ⁶⁸make thee attain the desire of thy heart. ⁶⁹Thy face shall not turn green, thy feet shall not tire, ⁷⁰thy strength shall not fail thee in the heat of the battle.' ⁷¹In her kindly embrace she folded thee and ⁷²protected thy entire stature. ⁷³From her face fire flared forth, ⁷⁴fiercely she went off to the sides (angrily [she went off shining brightly and] strode forth to conquer [her foe] B₂). ⁷⁵Against Teumman, king of Elam, ⁷⁶with whom she was angry, she set her face." ⁷⁷In Ulûlu, (the month of greatest) effectiveness of the goddesses, the feast of Ashur the exalted, ⁷⁸the month of Sîn, illuminator of heaven and earth, trusting in the oracle ⁷⁹of Nanna the Glittering and the message of Ishtar, my lady, which is not changed, ⁸⁰⁻⁸¹I mobilized my warriors, my fighters, who by the command of Ashur, Sîn, and Ishtar

NOTES FOR COLUMN V

12a-12a -*hu-ru-* C.

13 B (K 2732) om.

13a-13a -*mi* D (K 1700 collated).

14-14 -*ša* B (A 7944).

15-15 B (A 7968) om.

16 *ú-* B (A 7968).

16a So also D (K 1700 collated).

17-17 *iz-zi-iš na[m-ri-ri-iš tattašî-ma] a-na ka-ša-ad (amêlu)[nakri-ša tallik(ik)]*

B₂ (restored from K 3040, WKA, p. 73).

17a D (K 1700) om.

18 B (A 7969) D (K 1700) om.

- 82 e-li (I)te-um-man šâr (mātu)elamti(ki) ur-ḫu aš-bat-ma
 §B₂ 83 uš-te-eš-še-ra ḫar-ra-nu el-la-mu-u-a§ (I)te-um-man šâr
 (mātu)elamti(ki)
 84 i-na (âlu)bît-(I)im-bi-i na-di ma¹⁹-dak-tu e-rib šarrû-ti-ia
 ¶C §D 85 ša ¶qí-rib (âlu)dêri(ki) iš-me-e-ma iṣ-bat-su ḫat-tu§
 (I)te-um-man
 86 ip-làḫ-ma a-na arki-šu i-tur e-ru-ub qí-rib (âlu)šu-ša-an
 ¶D 87 kaspu ḫurâṣu a-¶na šu-zu-ub napišti(tim)-šu
 88 ú-za-'-iz a-na nišê(meš) mâti-šu
 89 ri-ši-e-šu a-lik idi(di)-šu ²⁰pa-nu-uš-šu²⁰ ú-tir-ram-ma
 90 ug-dap-pi-ša a-na maḫ-ri-ia
 91 (nâru)ú-la-a-a a-na dan-nu-ti-šu iš-kun^{20a}
 92 iṣ-bat pa-an maš-qí-e
 93 ina qí-bit ašur (ilu)marduk ²¹ilâni(meš) rabûti(meš)²¹
 94 ša ú-tak-kil-u-in-[ni]
 95 ina itât(meš) (šal)^{21a}damqâte(meš)^{21a} egirri ši-pir maḫ-
 ḫi-e
 §D 96 ina²² qí-rib ša²² ²³tîl-(âlu)tu-ba²³ abikta-šu-nu áš-kun§
 97 ina (amêlu)pagrê(meš)-šu-nu (nâru)ú-la-a-a as-ki-ir
 §C 98 šal-ma-a-te-šu-nu ki-ma (iṣu)balti²⁴ (iṣu)ašagi§
 99 ú-ma-al-la-a ta-mar-ti (âlu)šu-ša-an

sweep along in the heat of the battle. ⁸²Against Teumman, king of Elam, I took the road and ⁸³made straight the way. Before me Teumman, king of Elam, ⁸⁴had made a halt in the city of Bit-Imbî. He heard of my majesty's invasion ⁸⁵of Dêr, and fear took hold of him. Teumman ⁸⁶became afraid and turned back. He entered Susa. ⁸⁷To save his life he divided silver and gold ⁸⁸among the people of his land. ⁸⁹His allies, who (usually) occupied his flanks (*lit.*, going at his side), he sent to the rear (*lit.*, turned back from before him) and ⁹⁰prepared for a battle with me. Opposite my front ⁹¹he made the Ulayya his stronghold, ⁹²seized my watering-places. ⁹³At the command of Ashur (and) Marduk, the great gods, (**C** adds: my lords,) ⁹⁴who strengthened me ⁹⁵through the favorable omens of a revelation, the work of an oracle-priest, ⁹⁶I accomplished his defeat at Tell-Tuba. ⁹⁷I blocked the Ulayya with their corpses. ⁹⁸Their dead bodies like weeds (*lit.*, thorns and thistles) ⁹⁹filled the plain of Susa.

NOTES FOR COLUMN V

¹⁹ *mad-* B (A 7979); *man-* D (K 1700).

²⁰⁻²⁰ B (A 7969) om.

^{20a} B (P 4) adds *-ma*.

²¹⁻²¹ B (A 7970) D (K 1700) om.; after *rabûti(meš)* B (P 4) C add *bêlê(m[eš]-ia)*.

^{21a-21a} *damiqti* B (P 4).

²² B (A 7970, A 7980, K 1741) om.

²³⁻²³ (*âlu*)*tu-ba* B (A 7947, A 7968); (*âlu*)*tîl-[tu-ba]* B (K 1741); [(*âlu*)*tîl-t*]*u-ba* B (P 4); [(*âlu*)*tîl-tu-ba*] C; text: B (A 7944, A 7970, A 7980). The hitherto accepted reading, (*âlu*)*tul-ti-iz*, is not supported by any available sources, and the ease with which *li* and *tu* as well as *iz* and *ba* could be confused suggests that it is the error of a modern copyist. Cf. K 2674 Rev. i 15 (S. A. Smith, *Die Keilschrifttexte Assurbanipals* III [Leipzig, 1889] 3; Streck, *Assurbanipal*, pp. 310, n. 6, and 331, n. 9).

²⁴ C adds *u*.

Column vi

- 1 qaqqad (I)te-um-man šâr (mātu)elamti(ki)
 2 ina qí-bit ašur (ilu)marduk ilâni(meš) rabûti(meš)
 bēlê(meš)-ia
 3 akkis(is) ina puḥur ummanâtê(ḥá)-šu
 4 mi-lam-me ašur u (ilu)ištar (mātu)elamti(ki)
 5 is-ḥu-up-ma ik-nu-šu a-na ni-ri-ia
 6 (I)um-man-¹i'-gaš ša in-nab-tu
 7 iṣ-ba-tu šêpê(II)-ia ina (iṣu)kussî-šu ú-še-šib
 8 (I)tam-ma-ri-tu aḥu-šu šal-ša-a-a
 9 ina (álu)ḥi-da-lu a-na šarrû-ti áš-kun
 ¶ C 10 (iṣu)narkabâti(meš) (iṣu)ṣu-um-bi sisê¶(meš) parê(meš)
 11 ṣi-mit-ti ni-i-ri (iṣu)be-li si-mat tâḥâzi
 12 ša ina tu-kul-ti ašur ²(ilu)ištar² ilâni(meš) rabûti(meš)
 bēlê(meš)-ia
 13 bi-rit (álu)šu-ša-an ù (náru)ú-la-a-a ik-šu-da qâtâ(II)-a-a
 14 ina³ qí-bit ašur u ilâni(meš) rabûti (meš) bēlê(meš)-ia
 15 ul-tu qí-rib (mātu)elamti(ki) ḥa-diš ú-ša-am-ma
 16 a-na gi-mir ummanâtê(ḥá)-ia ša-lim-tu šak-na-at
-
- 17 ina samanê(e) gir-ri-ia eli (I)du-na-nu mâr (I)bêl-iqîša(ša)
 ¶ D 18 a-na (mātu)¶gam-bu-li lu-u al-lik
 19 ša a-na šâr (mātu)elamti(ki) it-tak-lu
 20 la-a ik-nu-šu a-na ni-ri-ia
 21 ta-ḥa-zi dan-nu (mātu⁴)gam-bu-lu a-na si-ḥir-ti-šu
 22 ki-ma imbâri ak-tum
 23 (álu)ša-pi-i-(ilu)bêl âl dan-nu-ti-šu
 24 ša qí-rib nârê(meš) na-da-at šu-bat-su ak-šu-ud
 25 (I)du-na-nu aḥḥê(meš)-šu ul-tu qí-rib âli šu-a-tu
 § C 26 bal-ṭu-su-un ú-še-ša-a-š
 27 aššat-su mârê(meš)-šu mârâtê(meš)-šu (šal)sik-ri-ti-šu
 28 (amêlu)nârê(meš) (šal)nârâte(meš) ú-še-ša-am-ma šal-
 la-tiś am-nu
 29 kaspu ḥurâṣu bušû na-kam-ti ekalli-šu
 30 ú-še-ša-am-ma šal-la-tiś am-nu
 31 (amêlu)šu-ut-rêšê(meš) man-za-az pa-ni-šu (amêlu)kit-
 kit-tu-u
 32 mu-ša-ki-li-e-šu [⁶ú-še-ša⁵]-am-ma šal-la-tiś am-nu
 33 gi-mir um-ma-[-. . .-⁵šu-ni ma⁵]-la ba-šu-u
 34 mar-kas âli u šêri ú-še-ša-am-ma šal-la-tiś am-nu
 35 alpê(meš) ṣi-e-ni sisê(meš) parê(meš) ša ni-ba la i-šu-u
 36 ú-še-ša-am-ma šal-la-tiś am-nu
 37 nišê(meš) mâti-šu zik-ra sin-niś ṣiḥir u rabi e-du ul e-zib
 38 ú-še-ša-am-ma šal-la-tiś am-nu

Column vi

¹The head of Teumman, king of Elam, ²at the command of Ashur (and) Marduk, the great gods, my lords, ³I cut off before his assembled troops. ⁴The splendor of Ashur and Ishtar overcame Elam, ⁵and they submitted to my yoke. ⁶Ummanigaš, who had fled (and) ⁷caught hold of my feet, I set upon his throne. ⁸Tammaritu, his third brother, ⁹I established as king in Hidalu. ¹⁰Chariots, wagons, horses, mules ¹¹broken to the yoke, weapons suited for war, ¹²which with the help of Ashur (and) Ishtar, the great gods, my lords, ¹³my hands had captured between Susa and the Ulayya—¹⁴at the command of Ashur and the great gods, my lords, ¹⁵I brought (them) out of Elam, and ¹⁶to each of my soldiers a piece of equipment was given.

¹⁷On my eighth campaign ¹⁸I marched to Gambulu against Dunanu, the son of Bêliqiša, ¹⁹who had helped the king of Elam (and) ²⁰had not submitted to my yoke. ²¹With my mighty battle array I covered all Gambulu ²²like a storm. ²³Šapibêl, his stronghold, ²⁴which is situated in the midst of the rivers, his seat, I took. ²⁵Dunanu (and) his brothers I led forth from that city ²⁶alive. ²⁷His wife, his sons, his daughters, his concubines, ²⁸his singers, male and female—I led (them) forth and counted (them) as spoil. ²⁹Silver, gold, the treasure of his palace—³⁰I brought (it) forth and counted it as spoil. ³¹The officials who stood before him, (his) smiths, ³²his quartermasters—[I led forth] and counted (them) as spoil. ³³All [their] arti[sans], [al]l there were, ³⁴the bond of city and country—I led (them) forth, I counted (them) as spoil. ³⁵Countless cattle, sheep, horses, mules—³⁶I brought (them) forth, I counted (them) as spoil. ³⁷The people of his land, male and female, small and great, without exception, ³⁸the warriors (as well)—I

NOTES FOR COLUMN VI

¹⁻¹ -*ni*- B (A 7981).

²⁻² B (K 2732) om.; B (Rm 24) adds (or substitutes?) ù.

³ B (A 7983) om.

⁴ (*álu*) B (A 7981).

⁵⁻⁵ D.

- 39 [⁶(I)mas-si⁶- . . .]-ra-a⁷ (amêlu)râb-(iṣu)qašti ša (I)te-
um-man šâr (mātu)elamti(ki)
- ¶B₅ C 40 [š⁶sa a-na⁶] kit-ri (mātu)gam-bu-li ma-šar-ti (I)du-na-nu
41 áš-¶B₅bu qí-rib (álu)ša-pi-i(ilu)¶C**b**él bal-ṭu-us-su ina
qa-ti aš-bat
- ¶B₃ 42 qaqqad-su ak-kis it-ti pa-ni (I)du-na-nu kit-ri la mu-še-
¶B₃zib-i-šu⁸ ar-pi-is⁹
43 álu šu-a-tu ab-bul aq-qur ina mê(meš) uš-ḥar-miṭ
44 a-di la ba-še-e ú-ša-lik
45 na-gu-u šu-a-tu ú-šaḥ-rib
- §B₅ 46 ri-gim a-me-lu-ti ap-ru-ša šîru-uš-šu§
47 ina tu-kul-ti ašur (ilu)bél (ilu)nabû ilâni(meš) rabûti-
(meš)
48 ¹⁰bêlê(meš)-ia¹⁰ (amêlu)nakrê(meš)-ia a-ni-ir
49 šal-meš a-tu-ra a-na (álu)ninua(ki)
50 qaqqad (I)te-um-man šâr (mātu)elamti(ki)
51 ina ki-šad (I)du-na-nu a-lul¹¹
52 it-ti ki-šit-ti (mātu)elamti(ki)
53 šal-la-at (mātu)gam-bu-li
- §C 54 ša ina qí-bit ašur ik-šu-da qâtâ(II)-a-a
55 it-ti (amêlu)nârê(meš) e-peš nin-gu-ti§
56 a-na (álu)ninua(ki) e-ru-ub-¹²ma¹² ina ḥidâte(meš)
57 (I)um-ba-da-ra-a (I.ilu)nabû-damiq(iq)
- §B₁ 58 (amêlu)rubê(meš) ša (I)te-um§-man šâr (mātu)elamti-
(ki)
59 ša (I)te-um-man ina qâtê(II)-šu-nu iš-pu-ra
60 ši-pir me-ri-iḥ-ti ša ina maḥ-ri-ia ak-lu-u

led (them) forth, I counted (them) as spoil. ³⁹[Massi. . .]râ, the infantry general of Teumman, king of Elam, ⁴⁰[who to] assist Gambulu as guard of Dunanu ⁴¹lived in Šapîbêl, I took alive with my own hands. ⁴²His head I cut off. In the presence of Dunanu I struck the helper who had not saved him. ⁴³That city I destroyed, I devastated, demolished with water, ⁴⁴annihilated (*lit.*, made it go into nonexistence). ⁴⁵That district I ruined. ⁴⁶The bustle of humanity I cut off from it. ⁴⁷With the help of Ashur, Bêl, Nabû, the great gods, ⁴⁸my lords, I wiped out my enemies ⁴⁹(and) returned safely to Nineveh. ⁵⁰The head of Teumman, king of Elam, ⁵¹I hung around the neck of Dunanu (C *adds*: [round the neck] of Samgunu I hung [the head of Išarnandi]; B₃ *adds*: the head of Išarnandi [I hung] around the neck of [Samgunu], the younge[r] brother of Dunanu). ⁵²With the loot of Elam, ⁵³the spoil of Gambulu, ⁵⁴which at the command of Ashur my hands had captured, ⁵⁵with singers to make music, ⁵⁶I entered into Nineveh with joy. ⁵⁷Umbadarâ (and) Nabûdamiq, ⁵⁸nobles of Teumman, king of Elam, ⁵⁹by whose hands Teumman had dispatched ⁶⁰(his) insolent mes-

NOTES FOR COLUMN VI

6-6 D.

⁷ One is tempted to compare the name (I)MAS-da-ra-a occurring in one of the Elamite court documents (*Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse* IX, No. 259 Obv. 10); but the fragment is broken in such a way that it is difficult to decide from the traces whether the sign after *si* on K 1700 began with two or with three horizontal strokes. So *du*, *da*, and *id* are all possible; for *du* compare the variant Andaria-Andura in B iv 16 (A 7947), p. 57, n. 13.

⁸ Cf. Esarhaddon Th 1929-10-12, 1 iii 61 (Thompson, *Prisms*, p. 19).

⁹ In Esarhaddon Th 1929-10-12, 1 i 58 (Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 11, esp. n. 2) *arpisa riltiya*, which Thompson interprets as "indicating the determination to carry on the rule," is probably the same gesture of snapping the fingers which Strabo cites as marking the statue (relief?) of Sardanapalos in Anchiale (Strabo, *Geography*, 14 v 9, ed. H. L. Jones [London, 1929] p. 340; Streck, *Assurbanipal*, pp. cccxcvii ff.), and which is probably, as Eduard Meyer at first believed (*Forschungen zur alten Geschichte* I [Halle a.S., 1892] 204), to be explained as a gesture of invocation. As such it fits the Esarhaddon context very well.

10-10 C om.

¹¹ C *adds* [*ina ki-šad*] (I)sa-am-gu-nu [*qaqqad* (I)iš-tar-na-an-di] a-lul; B₃ *adds* *qaqqad* (I)iš-tar-na-an-di *ina kišad* [(I)sa-am-gu-nu] aḫi (I)du-na-nu kuṭ-ṭin-n[u a-lul]. For the restorations compare K 4459 (WKA, p. 75), but also K 2674 Obv. 6 (George Smith, *History*, p. 141), which has Umbakidinni bear the head of Išarnandi.

12-12 B (A 7968) D (K 1700) om.

- 61 ú-qa-'-u pa-an ši-kin ʔe-e-me-ia
 62 ni-kis qaqqadi (I)te-um-man bêli-šu-nu qí-rib ninua(ki)
 63 e-mu-ru-u-ma ša-ni-e ʔe-e-me iṣ-bat-su-nu-ti
 64 (I)um-ba-da-ra-a ¹³ib-qu-ma¹³ ziq-na-a-šu
 ¶K 65 ¶(I.ilu)nabû-damiq(iq) ina paṭri parzilli šib-bi-šu is-ḫu-la
 ka-ra-as-su
 66 ni-kis qaqqad (I)te-um-man ina tarši abulli qabal ¹⁴âli¹⁴
 67 ša (âlu)ninua(ki) ú-maḫ-ḫi-ra maḫ-ḫu-riš
 68 áš-šu da-na-an ašur u¹⁵ (ilu)ištar bêlê(meš)-ia nišê(meš)
 kul-lu-me
 69 ni-kis qaqqad (I)te-um-man šâr (mātu)elamti(ki)
 70 ¹⁶(I)šuma-a-a¹⁶ mâr (I.ilu)nabû-sa-lim mâr-mâr (I.ilu)-
 mar-duk-apla-iddin
 71 ša la-pa-an âb-abi ba-ni-ia
 §D 72 abu-šu in-nab-tu§ a-na (mātu)elamti(ki)
 73 ul-tu (I)um-man-i-gaš qí-rib (mātu)elamti(ki) áš-ku-nu
 a-na šarru-u-ti
 74 (I)šuma-a-a mâr (I.ilu)nabû-sa-lim
 75 iṣ-bat ú-še-bi-la a-di maḫ-ri-ia
 76 (I)du-na-nu (I)sa-am-gu-nu
 77 mârê(meš) (I.ilu)bêl-iqīša(ša) (mātu)gam-bu-la-a-a
 78 ša abbê(meš)-šu-un a-na šarrâni(meš) abbê(meš)-ia
 ¶D 79 ¶ú-dal-li-bu-ma ù šu-[nu]
 80 ú-nar-ri-ṭa e-peš šarru-ti-ia
 81 qí-rib ašur(ki) ù (âlu)arba-ilu(ki)
 §D K 82 a-na daš-lál aḫ-ra-a-te ú-bil-šu-nu-ti§
 83 ša (I)man-nu-ki-aḫḫê(meš) (amêlu)šanû(u) (I)du-na-nu
 84 ù (I.ilu)nabû-ú-šal-li amêlu ša eli âl (mātu)gam-bu-li
 85 ša eli ilâni(meš)-ia iq-bu-u šil-la-tu rabîtu(tu)
 86 qí-rib (âlu)arba-ilu lišân-šu-un áš-lu-up
 87 áš-ḫu-ṭa mašak-šu-un (I)du-na-nu qí-rib (âlu)ni-na-a
 88 eli (iṣu)ma-ka-a-ši id-du-šum-ma
 ¶C 89 iṭ-bu-ḫu-uš ¶az-liš
 90 si-it-ti aḫḫê(meš)-šu ša (I)du-na-nu
 91 ù (I)šuma-a-a a-ni-ir šêrê(meš)-šu-¹⁷nu¹⁷
 92 ú-še-bil a-na ta-mar-ti ma-ti-tan
 93 (I.ilu)nabû-na'id (I.ilu)bêl-eṭir(ir)
 94 mârê(meš) (I.ilu)nabû-šuma-êreš(eš) (amêlu)gú-en-na
 95 ša abu ba-nu-šu-un (I)ur-ta-ki id-ka-a
 96 ¹⁸a-na¹⁸ mit-ḫu-ši (mātu)akkadî(ki)
 97 eṣmâte(m[eš]) (I.ilu)nabû-šuma-êreš(eš) ša ul-tu qí-rib
 (mātu)gam-bu-li
 98 il-qu-u-ni a-na (mātu)aš-šur(ki)
 99 eṣmâte(meš) ša-a-te-na

sage, whom I had detained in my presence ⁶¹to await my decision, ⁶²saw the severed head of Teumman, their master, in Nineveh, ⁶³and insanity seized hold of them. ⁶⁴Umbadarâ tore his beard, ⁶⁵Nabû-damiq pierced his abdomen with his girdle dagger. ⁶⁶The severed head of Teumman I displayed conspicuously in front of the gate in the middle of the city ⁶⁷of Nineveh, ⁶⁸⁻⁶⁹that the severed head of Teumman, king of Elam, might show forth the might of Ashur and Ishtar, my lords, to the people. ⁷⁰Šumayya, the son of Nabûsalim, the grandson of Merodachbaladan, ⁷¹whose father before (the time of) the father of the father who begat me ⁷²had fled to Elam—⁷³after I had established Ummanigaš as king in Elam, ⁷⁴he took Šumayya, the son of Nabûsalim, ⁷⁵sent him into my presence. ⁷⁶Dunanu (and) Samgunu, ⁷⁷sons of Bêliqîša the Gambulean, ⁷⁸whose forefathers had made trouble for my royal ancestors, ⁷⁹and who the[msel]ves ⁸⁰had made difficult the exercise of my sovereignty, ⁸¹to Ashur and Arbela (respectively) ⁸²I brought them for future obedience. ⁸³The tongues of Mannukiaḥḥê, the lieutenant of Dunanu, ⁸⁴and Nabûšalli, a man who was over a city of Gambulu, ⁸⁵who had spoken most disrespectfully of my gods, ⁸⁶I tore out in Arbela (and) ⁸⁷flayed them. In Nineveh ⁸⁸they threw Dunanu on a skinning-table and ⁸⁹slaughtered him like a lamb. ⁹⁰The other brothers of Dunanu ⁹¹and Šumayya I killed, their flesh ⁹²I sent to be gazed at throughout the land. ⁹³Nabûna'id (and) Bêletir, ⁹⁴sons of Nabûšumereš, the *guenna*, ⁹⁵whose father had incited Urtaku ⁹⁶to fight against Assyria—⁹⁷the bones of Nabûšumereš, which they had brought from Gambulu ⁹⁸to Assyria—⁹⁹these bones

NOTES FOR COLUMN VI

13-13 *ib-qu-u* B (K 2732); *ib-qu-nu* B (A 7968).

14-14 B (K 1741) om.

15 D (K 1700) om.

16-16 (I) *TUR.Üš-ia* B (P 4).

17-17 B (K 1741) om.; B (Rm 27) adds *ú-nak-kis*.

18-18 B (A 7983) om.

Column vii

- § C 1 mi-iḫ-rit abulli qabal (âlu)ninua(ki)
 2 ú-šaḫ-ši-la mârê(meš)-šuš
-
- 3 (I)um-man-i-gaš ša ṭa-ab-tu ma-'-as-su e-pu-šu-uš
 4 áš-ku-nu-uš a-na šarru-u-ti (mātu)elamti(ki)
 5 ša damiqti(tim) la ḫa-as-su
 6 la iṣ-ṣu-ru a-di-e ma-mit ilâni(meš) rabûti(meš)
 ¶ D 7 ¶ul-tu qâtâ(II) (amêlu)mâr-šiprê(meš) (I.ilu)šamaš-
 šuma-ukîn
 8 aḫu la ki-e-nu ¹(amêlu)nakri-ia¹ im-ḫu-ru ṭa-'-a-tu
 9 e-mu-qi-šu it-ti-šu-un iš-pu-ra
 10 a-na mit-ḫu-ši ummanâte(ḫá)-ia
 11 šâbê(meš) tâḫâzi-ia ²a² ina (mātu)kár-(ilu)dun-iá-àš
 12 it-³ta-na-al³-la-ku ú-kab-⁴ba⁴-su (mātu)kal-du
 ¶ C 13 ina la i-di-e ši-ir ¶(I)un-da-si
 14 mâr (I)te-um-man šâr (mātu)elamti(ki)
 15 ù (I)za-za-az (amêlu)ḫazân (mātu)pil-la-te
 16 (I)pa-ru-u (amêlu)ḫazân (mātu)ḫi-il-mu
 17 (I)at-ta-me-tu (amêlu)ráb-(iṣu)qašti
 18 (I)ni-e-šu a-lik pa-ni ummanâte(ḫá) ša (mātu)elamti(ki)⁵
 19 a-na mit-ḫu-uš-ši it-ti ummanâte(ḫá) (mātu)aš-šur(ki)
 20 [⁶(I)um-man-i-gaš⁶ ⁷ú-ma⁷]-⁷ir-šu-nu-ti
 21 iš-kun-šu-nu-te ṭe-e-mu
 22 [⁶(I)um-man-i-g⁶]aš ^{7a}a-na (I)un-da-si ki-a-am^{7a} iq-bi
 23 [⁶um-ma a-li⁶]k ultu (mātu)aš-šur(ki)
 24 tir-ra tuk-te-e abi ba-ni-ka
 25 [⁶(I)un-da-su⁶] (I)za-za-az (I)pa-ru-u
 26 (I)at-ta-me-tu (I)ni-e-šu
 27 [⁶it-ti⁶] (amêlu)mâr-šiprê(meš)^{7b} (I.ilu)šamaš-šuma-ukîn
 28 aḫi nak-ri [⁶ur-ḫu iṣ-ba⁶]t-u-nim-ma
 29 uš-te-eš-še-ru-u-ni ḫar-ra-nu
 § C 30 [⁶šâbê(meš) tá⁶]ḫâzi-ia ina (âlu)^{7c}šman-gi-si ša qí-rib
 (âlu)su-man-dir
 31 [eli⁸]-šu-un e-lu-nim-ma iš-ku-nu taḫ-ta-šu-un
 32 ša (I)un-da-si mâr (I)te-um-man šâr (mātu)elamti(ki)
 33 ša (I)za-za-az (I)pa-ru-u (I)at-ta-me-tu
 34 qaqqadê(meš)-šu-nu ik-ki-su-nim-ma
 35 ú-bil-u-ni a-di maḫ-ri-ia
 36 šu-ut a-ma-a-ti an-na-a-te
 37 (amêlu)mâr-šipri-ia ú-ma-'-ir ši-ir (I)um-man-⁹i⁹-gaš
 38 (amêlu)šu-ut-rêši-ia ša áš-bu i-[¹⁰na (âlu)man-gi¹⁰]-si ik-
 la-ma
 39 la ú-tir-ra tur-ti a-mat-ia

Column vii

¹before the gate in the middle of Nineveh ²I had his sons crush.

³Ummanigaš, for whom I had done many favors, ⁴whom I had established as king of Elam, ⁵who was not mindful of the favors, ⁶did not keep the oath (and) curse of the great gods, ⁷(but) accepted a bribe from the hand of an emissary of Šamaššumukin, ⁸the faithless brother, my enemy. ⁹He sent his forces with them ¹⁰to fight my troops, ¹¹my warriors, who were marching about in Karduniash. ¹²They tramped through Chaldea, ¹³without its being known, toward Undasi, ¹⁴the son of Teumman, king of Elam; ¹⁵and Zazaz, mayor of Pillate, ¹⁶Parû, mayor of Hilmu, ¹⁷Attametû, general of infantry, ¹⁸(and) Nêšu, commander of the armies of Elam—(C adds: to Šamaššumukin's assistance) ²⁰[Ummanigaš dispa]tched them, ²¹gave them the order ¹⁹to fight against the Assyrians. ²²[Ummanig]aš spoke [thus] to Undasi: ²³“[G]o, from Assyria ²⁴bring back revenge for the father who begat thee.” ²⁵[Undasu,] Zazaz, Parû, ²⁶Attametû, Nêšu, ²⁷[with] the messengers of Šamaššumukin, ²⁸(my) hostile brother, [to]ok [the road] and ²⁹made straight the way. ³⁰My [warri]ors in Mangisi, which is in Sumandir, ³¹went up [against] them and accomplished the defeat ³²of Undasu, son of Teumman, king of Elam, ³³Zazaz, Parû, (and) Attametû. ³⁴Their heads they cut off and ³⁵brought before me. ³⁶Concerning these words ³⁷I dispatched my messenger to Ummanigaš. ³⁸My officer who dwelt i[n Mangi]si he restrained, and ³⁹he did not return an answer to my

NOTES FOR COLUMN VII

¹⁻¹ *bêl nak-ri-ia* B (A 7947); *bêl (amêlu)nakri-ia* B (A 7969).

²⁻² B (A 7969, A 7983) om.

³⁻³ *-tal-* B (A 7947).

⁴⁻⁴ *-bi-* B (A 7983).

⁵ C adds *a-na ri-šu-[ut (I.îlu)šamaš-šuma-ukîn]*.

⁶⁻⁶ C.

⁷⁻⁷ Conjectural; George Smith, *History*, p. 172.

^{7a-7a} *ki-a-[am a-na (I)un-da-si]* C.

^{7b} C adds *ša*.

^{7c} (*mātu*) C.

⁸ Conjectural.

⁹⁻⁹ *-ni-* B (A 7981).

¹⁰⁻¹⁰ Conjectural; suggested by Dr. George Cameron.

	40	ašur (ilu)sîn (ilu)šamaš (ilu)bêl (ilu)nabû (ilu)nergal
¶ C	41	[ilâni ¹¹]¶(meš) ti-ik-li-ia di-in kit-ti
	42	it-ti (I)um-man-ni ¹² -gaš i-di-nu-in-ni
¶ F F ₂ A	43	¶(I)tam-ma-ri-tu šîru-uš-šu ib-bal-kit-ma
	44	ša-a-šu ga-du kim-ti-šu ú-ra-sip ¹³ ina (iṣu)kakkê(meš) ¹⁴
	45	(I)tam-ma-ri-tu ša ¹⁵ e-la ša-šu iq-šu ¹⁵
§ F F ₂ A	46	¹⁶ ú-šib ¹⁶ ina (iṣu)kussî (mātu)elamti(ki)§ ¹⁷
	47	ki-ma ša-a-šu-ma ^{17a} ṭa-'-a-ti im-ḥur
¶ A	48	¶ul ¹⁸ ¹⁹ iš-al ¹⁹ šu-lum šarrû-ti-ia
¶ B ₅ F F ₂ § C	49	¶ ²⁰ a-na ²⁰ ²¹ kit-ri ²¹ (I)š.ilu)šamaš-šuma-ukîn
	50	aḫi ²² la ki-e-nu ²² il-lik-am-ma
	51	a-na mit-ḥu-ši ummanâtê(ḫá)-ia ur-ri-ḫa (iṣu)kakkê- (meš)-šu
	52	ina ²³ su-up-pi-e ša ašur u (ilu)ištar ú-sap-pu-u
¶ C	53	²⁴ ta-ni-ḫi-ia im-ḥu-ru ²⁴ iš-mu-u ²⁵ zi-kir ¶šapti-ia ²⁵
§ F F ₂ A	54	²⁶ ardâni(meš)-šu ²⁶ šîru-uš-šu ib-bal- ²⁷ ki-tu ²⁷ ma§
	55	a-ḫa-meš ú-ra-si-bu bêl ^{27a} (šal)limutti ^{27a} -ia
	56	(I)in-da-bi-gaš arad-su ša si-ḥu
	57	eli-šu ú-šab-šu-u ú-šib ina (iṣu)kussî-šu
	58	(I)tam-ma-ri-tu šâr (mātu)elamti(ki)
§ B ₅	59	ša ²⁸ me-ri-iḫ-tu iq-ṣ-bu-u
	60	e-li ni-kis qaqqadi (I)te-um-man ²⁸
	61	ša ik-ki-su a-ḥu-ru-u ummanâtê(ḫá.meš)-ia
	62	ù aḫḫê(meš) qin-nu-šu zêr bît a-bi-šu
	63	it-ti 85 rubê(meš) ša (mātu)elamti(ki) a-li-kut idî(II.- meš)-šu
	64	ša la-pa-an (iṣu)kakkê(meš) ašur u (ilu)ištar
§ C	65	²⁹ ip-par-ši-du ²⁹ ip-par§-šu-nim-ma
	66	a-na da-lál ilu-u-ti-šu-un ³⁰ rabîti(ti) ³⁰
	67	it-ti (I.ilu)marduk-šarra-ušur (amêlu)šu-ut-rêši-ia
	68	ša ib-ši-mu-šu ina da-na-ni
	69	mi-ra-nu-uš-šu-un ina muḫḫi lib-bi-šu-nu

words. ⁴⁰Ashur, Šîn, Šamaš, Bêl, Nabû, Nergal, ⁴¹[the gods] who helped me, returned a righteous verdict ⁴²against Ummanigaš. ⁴³Tammaritu, even worse than he, ⁴⁶seated himself on the throne of Elam. ⁴⁷Like him he accepted bribes, ⁴⁸failed to ask after my health, ⁴⁹marched to the aid of Šamaššumukin, ⁵⁰the faithless brother, and ⁵¹hastened his weapons to fight my troops. ⁵²In answer to my prayers which I addressed to Ashur and Ishtar, ⁵³they received my petitions, heard the cry of my lips. ⁵⁴His servants (Indabigaš, his servant, **F** [**F**₂] **A**) revolted against him, and ⁵⁵they killed one another off. My enemy, ⁵⁶Indabigaš, his servant, who had instigated the revolt ⁵⁷against him, seated himself upon the throne. ⁵⁸Tammaritu, king of Elam, ⁵⁹who had spoken insolence ⁶⁰concerning the severed head of Teumman, ⁶¹which a common soldier in my army had cut off, ⁶²and his brothers, his family, the seed of his father's house, ⁶³together with eighty-five nobles of Elam who walked at his side, ⁶⁴who before the weapons of Ashur and Ishtar ⁶⁵had fled, hastened and, ⁶⁶to revere their great divinity, ⁶⁷with Mardukšarruṣur, my officer, ⁶⁸whom they had urged by force, ⁶⁹naked (*lit.*, in their nakedness) on their bellies ⁷⁰crept to

NOTES FOR COLUMN VII

¹¹ Conjectural; cf. l. 74.

¹² *Sic!*

¹³ **F** (A 8052) adds *-su*.

¹⁴ **A** adds *arkānu*.

¹⁵⁻¹⁶ *arka* (*I*)*um-man-i-gaš* **F** **F**₂ **A**.

¹⁶⁻¹⁶ *ú-ši-bu* **F** **F**₂ **A**.

¹⁷ **F** **F**₂ **A** om. l. 47; **F** **F**₂ om. l. 48.

^{17a} **C** seems to have added a few words, now lost, at this point.

¹⁸ *la* **A**.

¹⁹⁻¹⁹ *iš-a-lu* **A**.

²⁰⁻²⁰ *ša a-na* **F** **F**₂.

²¹⁻²¹ *ri-ṣu-u-te* **F** **F**₂ **A**.

²²⁻²² *nak-ri* **A** (Rm 1).

²³ *a-na* **B** (K 1741).

²⁴⁻²⁴ *un-nin-ni-ia il-gu-u* **B**₅ **A**; **F** **F**₂ om.

²⁵⁻²⁵ *un-ni-ni-ia* **F** [**F**₂].

²⁶⁻²⁶ *ardāni*(*meš*) **B** (K 1741); (*I*)*in-da-bi-gaš arad-su* **F** [**F**₂] **A**.

²⁷⁻²⁷ *-kil-* **F** **F**₂ **A**.

^{27a-27a} *damiqti*(*tim*)- **D** (K 1700).

²⁸⁻²⁸ *e-li ni-kis* [*qaqqad* (*I*)*te-um-man*] *me-ri-iḫ-[tu]* *ša iq-[bu-u]* **B**₅.

²⁹⁻²⁹ **B** (A 7930) **D** (P 5) om.

³⁰⁻³⁰ **B** (A 7981) om.

- 70 ip-ši-lu-nim-ma³¹ iṣ-ba-tu šêpê(II) šarrû-ti-ia
 71 (I)tam-ma-ri-tu a-na e-peš ardû^{31a}-ti-ia ra-man-šu im-nu-
 ma
 72 ana kat-a-ri-šu ú-šal-la-a bêlu-u-ti
 73 šu-ut ana bêl šu-ut-rêši-ia ašur (ilu)sîn (ilu)šamaš (ilu)bêl
 (ilu)nabû
 74 ilâni(meš) tik-li-ia ana pâna-a-a ri-bi-ia i-ri-bu-u-ni
 75 (I)tam-ma-ri-tu nišê(meš) ma-la it-ti-šu
 76 qí-rib ekalli-ia ul-zi-is-su-nu-ti
 ¶C 77 (I)in-da-bi-gaš ša arka ¶(I)tam-ma-ri-tu
 78 ú-ši-bu ina (iṣu)kussî (mātu)elamti(ki)
 §C 79 da-na-an (iṣu)kakkê(meš)-ia ^{31b}di-e^{31b}-ma
 80 ša ú-šam-ri-ru eli (mātu)elamti(ki)§
 81 mârê(meš) (mātu)aš-šur(ki) ša áš-pu-ra
 82 a-na kit-ri (I.ilu)nabû-bêl-šumâte(meš)
 ¶C 83 mâr (I.ilu)¶marduk-apla-iddin ša kîma ib-ri u tap-pi-e
 §D 84 na-šar mâtiš-šu it-ta-na-al-la-ku it-ti-šu
 85 ša (I.ilu)nabû-bêl-šumâte(meš) ina pi-ir-ša-a-ti
 86 ina šat mu-ši uṣ-šab-bi-tu ik-lu-u ina ki-li
 87 (I)in-da-bi-gaš šâr (mātu)elamti(ki)
 88 ul-tu bît ši-bit-ti ú-še-ša-áš-šu-nu-ti
 89 ki-i ša-bat ab-bu-ut-ti qa-bi-e (šal)damiqti-šu
 90 la ḥa-ṭi-e mi-šir mâti-šu
 91 ina qât[(II)] (amêlu)mâr-šipri-šu ša ṭu-[³²ub lib-bi³²] u su-
 lum-me-e
 §C 92 ú-še-bi-la [a]-di maḥ-ri-ia§
-
- 93 [³³(I)ia-u-ta-²³³] mâr (I)ḥa-za-ilu
 94 šâr (mātu)qa-da-ri [³³e-peš ardû³³]-ti-ia
 95 [³³áš-šu ilâni³³](meš)-šu im-ḥur-an-ni-ma
 96 [³³ú-šal-la³³]-a šarru-u-ti
 97 šu³³m ilâni(meš) rabûti³³](meš) ú-ša-[az]-kir-šu-ma
 98 (ilu)a-[³³tar-sa-ma-in³³]ú-tir-ma a-din-šu
 ¶A 99 ¶³⁴ar-k[³⁵a-nu³⁴ ina³⁵] a-di-ia iḥ-³⁶ṭi-a-ma³⁶

me and took hold of my royal feet. ⁷¹Tammaritu counted himself to the number of my servants and ⁷²besought my lordship to deal kindly with him. ⁷³Himself Ashur, Šin, Šamaš, Bêl, Nabû, ⁷⁴the gods, my strength, to the master of my officers . . . before me. ⁷⁵Tammaritu (and) the people, as many as (were) with him—⁷⁶I stationed them in my palace. ⁷⁷⁻⁷⁸Indabigaš, who sat on the throne of Elam after Tammaritu, ⁷⁹recognized the power of my arms, ⁸⁰which I had made bitter against Elam. ⁸¹The Assyrians whom I had sent ⁸²to help Nabûbêl-šumâte, ⁸³son of Merodachbaladan, who like a friend and companion ⁸⁴walked about with him, guarding the country, ⁸⁵whom Nabûbêlšumâte through deceit ⁸⁶had seized during the night (and) forcibly restrained—⁸⁷Indabigaš, king of Elam, ⁸⁸let them go forth out of prison. ⁸⁹To take my side, to express his friendly regard, ⁹⁰that he would not overstep the boundary of his land—⁹¹(this assurance) by the hand of his messenger of go[od faith] and friendship ⁹²he transmitted [t]o me.

⁹³[Yauta'], the son of Hazael, ⁹⁴king of Kedar, [who serve]d me, ⁹⁵appealed to me [about] his [god]s and ⁹⁶[besough]t my lordship. ⁹⁷I made him pro[n]ounce the oat[h of the great gods] and ⁹⁸returned A[tarsamain] to him. ⁹⁹La[ter] he violat[ed] (his) oath to me and

NOTES FOR COLUMN VII

³¹ Dr. Geers has called the writer's attention to the following parallels: S. Smith, *First Campaign of Sennacherib* (London, 1921) l. 80; Thureau-Dangin, *Une relation de la huitième campagne de Sargon* (Paris, 1912) ll. 58, 345; *AJSL* XXXIV 236.

^{31a} D (P 5) adds (*meš*).

^{31b-31b} *e-mur-* C.

³²⁻³² Conjectural.

³³⁻³³ Restored after George Smith, *History*, p. 283.

³⁴⁻³⁴ *ša* A.

³⁵⁻³⁵ Restored after George Smith, *History*, p. 284.

³⁶⁻³⁶ *-tu-u* A.

Column viii

- 1 tâbti¹ la ʔiṣ-ṣur-ma² is-la-a (iṣu)nîr be-lu-ti-ia
2 a-na ṣa-'-al ṣul-me-ia šêpê(II)-šu ip-ru-us-ma
§A 3 ik-la-[a] ta-mar-ti§
4 nišê(meš) (mātu)a-ri-bi it-ti-šu ú-ša-bal-kit-ma
5 ih-ta-nab-ba-tu ḥu-bu-ut (mātu)amurri(ki)
6 ummanâtê(ḥá)-ia [ša ina mi]-ṣir mâti-šu áš-bu
7 ú-ma-'-[e]-ra ṣi-ru-uš-šu
¶DA 8 ¶Dabikta-šu-nu [³iš-ku-n³]u ¶Anišê(meš) (mātu)a-ri-bi
§A 9 ma-la⁴ it-b[⁵u-u-ni⁵] ú-ra-⁶si-bu⁶ ina (iṣu)kakkê(meš)§⁷
¶A 10 ¶(bit-šêri)kul-ta-ri⁸ mu-ša-bi-šu-nu
§A 11 [⁵(ilu)GIŠ.BAR⁵] ú-[ša]-ḥi-zu ʔip-qí-du a-na⁹ (ilu)GIŠ.BAR§
12 alpê(meš) ṣi-e-[ni] (imêru)mûrê(meš) (imêru)gamallê-
13 a-me-lu-tu iš-lu-lu-u-ni ina la me-ni
¶A 14 si-ḥi-ip mâti ¶ka-la-mu a-na si-ḥir-ti-¹⁰ša¹⁰
15 un-ta-¹¹na¹¹-al-lu-u a-na paṭ gim-ri-ša
16 (imêru)gamallê(meš) ki-ma ṣi-e-ni ú-par-ri-is
17 [⁵ú-za⁵]-'-iz a-na nišê(meš) (mātu)aš-ṣur(ki)¹²
18 qa-bal-ti mâti-ia (imêru)gamallê(meš) ina 1 šiqlu ina¹³
19 [⁵i-ša⁵]m-mu i-na bâb ma-ḥi-ri
20 ṣu-tam-mu ina ni-id-ni (amêlu)sírášû^{13a} ina (karpatu)ḥa-
21 bi-e
22 (amêlu)lakuruppu ina ki-i-ši¹⁴ im-da-na-ḥa-ru
23 [⁵(imêru)ibi⁵]lê(meš) ù a-me-lu-ti
23 [¹⁵(I)ia-u-ta-' a-di¹⁵] ¹⁶si-it-ti (amêlu¹⁷)a-ri-bi¹⁶ ṣa la-pa-an
23 (iṣu)kakkê¹⁸(meš)-ia¹⁸

Column viii

¹showed no regard for my favors and threw off the yoke of my dominion. ²He restrained his feet from asking my health and ³kept bac[k] from me (his) gifts. ⁴The people of Arabia he incited to revolt with him, and ⁵they repeatedly plundered Amurru. ⁶My troops [which] dwelt [in the ter]ritory of his land ⁷I dispatched against him. ⁸Their (*i.e.*, the Arabians') defeat they [accomplished]; and the people of Arabia, ⁹as many as had adv[anced] (**A** *adds*: with him), they struck down with weapons. ¹⁰The tents (**B** *variant adds*: [of Ara]bia), their dwellings, ¹¹[they se]t on [fire], allotted (them) to the flames. ¹²Cattle, shee[p], asses, camels, (and) ¹³slaves without number they took. ¹⁴The whole territory of my land in its entirety ¹⁵they filled (with them) to its farthest border. ¹⁶Camels I distributed like sheep, ¹⁷[divi]ded (them) among the people of Assyria. ¹⁸Throughout my land camels [were bo]ught for a shekel and a half of silver ¹⁹at the gate of barter. ²⁰The *šutammu* as pay, the brewer for a tun (of beer), ²¹the gardener as wages, received ²²[cam]els and slaves. ²³[Yauta', together with] the rest of the Arabians (his troops who had not kept my oath **A**) who had fled before my weapons (the weapons of Ashur, my lord, and run away

NOTES FOR COLUMN VIII

¹ **A** adds *e-pu-šu-uš*.²⁻² *iš-šur-u-ma* **A**.³⁻³ Restored after George Smith, *History*, p. 285.⁴ **A** adds *it-ti-šu*.⁵⁻⁵ **A**.⁶⁻⁶ *-as-sip* **A**.⁷ **A** inserts a two-line addition.⁸ **B** (A 7938) adds *-bi*.⁹⁻⁹ *iq-mu-u ina* **A**.¹⁰⁻¹⁰ **B** (A 7925) **A** *-sá*.¹¹⁻¹¹ **B** (A 7947) **A** om.¹² **A** adds *ina*.¹³ **A** om.^{13a} So Bauer, p. 2, note to **A** ix 50.¹⁴ **A** adds *-šu ša ú-kin*.¹⁵⁻¹⁵ Restored after **A**.¹⁶⁻¹⁶ (*amēlu*)*ummanâtē(há)-šu ša a-di-ia la iš-šur-ru* **A**.¹⁷ (*mātu*) **B** (A 7981).¹⁸⁻¹⁸ *ašur bēli-ia* **A**.

- 24 ip-par-ši-du¹⁹ ú-šam-qit²⁰ (ilu)ira(ra) qar-du
 25 su-un-qu ina bi-ri-šu-un iš-ša-kin-ma
 26 a-na bu-ri-šu-nu e-ku-lu šêrê²¹(meš)²¹ mârê(meš)-šu-un²²
 27 ar-ra-a-ti ma-la ina a-di-šu-un šaṭ-ru ina pi-it-ti
 28 i-ši-mu-š[u] ašur (ilu)sîn (ilu)šamaš²³ (ilu)bêl²⁴ (ilu)nabû
 §A 29 (ilu)ištar ša ninua(ki)²⁵ (ilu)ištar ša (âlu)arba-ilu(ki)§
 ilâni(meš)
 ¶A 30 rabûti(meš) bêlê(meš)-ia ¶²⁶(I)ia-u-ta-²⁶ ma-ru-uš-tu
 ¶C §A 31 im-ḥur-šu-¶ma e-diš-ši-šu in-na-bit§²⁷
 32 (I)a-bi-a-²⁸te²⁸⁻ mâr (I)te-²⁹ri
 33 a-na (âlu)ninua(ki) il-li-kam-ma ú-na-áš-šiq šêpê(II)-ia
 34 a-di-e a-na e-peš ardû-ti-ia it-ti-šu áš-kun
 35 ku-um (I)ia-u-ta-²⁹ áš-kun-šu a-na šarru-u-ti
 36 ḥurâšu (abnu)ênâte(II.meš) (abnu)UD.Aš gu-uḥ-lu
 (imêru)gamallê(meš)
 37 imêrê(meš) bît-ri-du-ti man-da-at-tu šat-ti-šam-ma
 38 ú-kin šîru-uš-šu
 39 (I)am-mu-la-ad-di-in šâr (mātu)qa-ad-ri ša ki-ma ša-a-šu
 ik-[²⁹ki-ru²⁹]
 40 iḥ-ta-nab-ba-tu ḥu-bu-ut (mātu)amurri(ki)
 41 ina zi-kir šumi-ia ša ašur (ilu)sîn [²⁹(ilu)šamaš (ilu)bêl²⁹]
 (ilu)nabû
 42 (ilu)ištar ša ninua(ki)³⁰ (ilu)ištar ša (âlu)arba-[³¹ilu(ki)
 (ilu)nfnurta (ilu)³¹ ²⁹nergal (ilu)girru²⁹]³²
 §C 43 (I)ka-ma-as-ḥal-ta-a šâr (mât[²⁹u]ma-³³š-a-ab²⁹)
 44 ardu da-gil pa-ni-ia
 45 ina tâḥâz šêri iš-ku-nu abikta-šu
 46 (I)am-mu-l[³³a-di³³] si-it-ti nišê(meš)-šu
 47 ša la-p[³³a-an da-a-ki³³] i-ši-tu-u-ni
 48 ú-šab-b[³⁴it ina qâtâ(II)³⁴]
 49 qâtâ(II) u šêpâ(II) bi-ri-tu parz[³⁴illi ³⁵id³⁵-di-ma³⁴]
 50 a-na (âlu)ninua(ki) a-di maḥ-ri-[³⁴ia ú-še-bi-la³⁴]
 ¶A 51 ¶(I)na-at-nu šâr (mātu)na-b[³⁴a-a-a-ti³⁴]

from them A), ²⁴mighty Ira struck down. ²⁵Famine broke out among them, and ²⁶to still their hunger they ate the flesh of their children. ²⁷The curses, as many as were written in their oath, ²⁸Ashur, Sîn, Šamaš (A adds: Adad), Bêl, Nabû, ²⁹Ishtar of Nineveh (A adds: the Queen of Kidmuri), Ishtar of Arbela (A adds: Ninurta, Nergal, Nusku), the great gods, ³⁰my lords, brou[g]ht upon them suddenly. (As for) Yauta', evil ³¹befell him, and he fled by himself (C A add: to Nabatea). ³²Abiate', the son of Te'ri, ³³came to Nineveh and kissed my feet. ³⁴I made an oath-bound treaty with him that he should serve me, ³⁵put him in place of Yauta' as king. ³⁶Gold, "eye"-stones, UD.AŠ stone, antimony, camels, and ³⁷stud-asses as annual tribute ³⁸I laid upon him. ³⁹Ammuladdin, king of Kedar, who like him wa[s hostile] (and) ⁴⁰plundered Amurru—⁴¹by the mention of my name (and the names) of Ashur, Sîn, [Šamaš, Bêl,] Nabû, ⁴²Ishtar of Nineveh (C adds: the Queen of Kidmuri), Ishtar of Arbe[la, Ninurta, Nergal, (and) Girru] (C adds: [who make] great [my reign]) ⁴³Kamashaltâ, king of [Moab], ⁴⁴a servant subject to me, ⁴⁵accomplished his defeat in a pitched battle. ⁴⁶Ammul[adi] (and) the rest of his people ⁴⁷who had escaped before the shambles] ⁴⁸he captu[red with (his own) hands]. ⁴⁹Hand and foot [he bound (them)] with ir[on] fetters and ⁵⁰[had them brought] to Nineveh into [my] presence. ⁵¹Nathan, king of Nab[atea], ⁵²whose

NOTES FOR COLUMN VIII

¹⁹ A adds *-ma in-nab-tu-ni ma-ḥar-šu-nu*.

²⁰ A adds *-su-nu-ti*.

²¹⁻²¹ A om.

²² A (Rm 1) adds *ina*.

²³ A adds (*ilu*) *adad*.

²⁴ B (A 7998) adds *u*.

²⁵ A adds (*ilu*) *šar-rat kid-mu-ri*.

²⁶⁻²⁶ (*I*) *ú-a-a-te'* A.

²⁷ C A add *a-na (mātu) na-ba-a-a-te*.

²⁸⁻²⁸ *-ta-* B (A 7927; 81-7-27, 10).

²⁹⁻²⁹ C.

³⁰ C adds [(*ilu*) *šar*]-*rat kid-mu-ri*.

³¹ Conjectural.

³² C adds [*ša šarru-u-ti ú*]-*šar-bu-u* (for the restoration cf. B i 10).

³³⁻³³ K 4459 (WKA, p. 75).

³⁴⁻³⁴ D.

³⁵⁻³⁵ *ad-* K 4687 (WKA, p. 74).

- 52 ša a-šar-šu ru-u-qu³⁶
 53 ³⁷iš-ma-a³⁷ da-na-[an] ašur ³⁸(ilu)marduk³⁸ ša ú-t[³⁹ak-
 kil-⁴⁰u³⁹]-in⁴⁰-ni
 54 ša ma-ti-ma ⁴¹(amêlu)mâr-šipri-[šu]
 55 [⁴²a-na⁴²] šarrâni(me[^{42x}] abbê(meš)⁴²]-ia⁴¹ la iš-pu-ra
 §A 56 la i[š-a]-lum šu-lum [^{42z}šarru-ti-šu-un⁴²]§
 57 e-nin-na ia-a-ti (amêlu)mâr-šipri-šu [^{42ša} šul-me⁴²]
 ¶C 58 ¶iš-pu-[⁴²ram-ma ú-na-áš⁴²]-šiq šêpê(II)-ia
 59 a-na ša-kan a-di-e su-lum-me-e [⁴²e-peš ardû-ti-ia⁴²]
 60 ú-ša-na-al-la-a be-lu-u-ti
 61 a-na-ku ḥa-diš ap-pa-lis-s[^{42u}-ma⁴²]
 §C 62 pa-niš-ia damqâti(meš) eli-šu áš-[kun]
 §D 63 bilat man-da-at-tu šat-ti-šam-ma ú-kin šîru-uš-šu§
-
- 64 ina ûmê(me)-šu-ma êkal ma-šár-ti⁴³ ša qí-rib ninua(ki)
 65 ša (I.ilu)sîn-aḥḥê(meš)-iriba šâr (mātu)aš-šur(ki) âb-abi
 bâni-ia
 66 e-pu-šu la-ba-riš il-lik-am-ma tim-me-en-šu ir-bu-ub-ma
 67 i-qu-pa igarâtê(meš)-šu
 68 êkal ma-šár-ti šu-a-tu ša la-ba-riš il-la-ku
 69 e-na-ḥu ušši-šu mi-qit-ta-šu ad-qí
 70 ak-šu-da a-sur-ru-šu ultu ušši-šu
 71 a-di gaba-dib-bi-e-šu ar-šip ú-šak-lil
 72 e-li ša ûmê(me) pa-ni ú-dan-ni-na tim-me-en-šu
 73 mu-šar-u ši-ṭir šumi-ia u ta-nit-ti qar-ra-du-ti-ia
 74 ina tukul-ti ašur (ilu)sîn (ilu)šamaš (ilu)bêl (ilu)nabû
 75 (ilu)ištar ša ninua(ki) (ilu)ištar ša (álu)arba-ilu (ilu)-
 nínurta
 76 (ilu)nusku (ilu)nergal ina mâtâte at-tal-la-ku
 77 áš-ku-nu da-na-an ù li-i-tu
 78 áš-ṭur-ma ana⁴⁴ aḥ-rat ûmê(me) e-zib ⁴⁵rubû arkû(u)⁴⁵

(dwelling-)place was afar off (**A** adds: to whom Uayyate' had fled),
⁵³heard of the powe[r] of Ashur (and) Marduk, who str[engthened] me,
 and ⁵⁴he, who previously had not sent [his] ambassador ⁵⁵[to] my
 roya[l ancestors], ⁵⁶had not a[s]ked the health of [their majesties],
⁵⁷now se[nt to me] his ambassador [of peace] ⁵⁸[and kiss]ed my feet.
⁶⁰He besought my majesty ⁵⁹to establish an oath-bound covenant of
 brotherhood (and) [the performance of my service]. ⁶¹I looke[d] upon
 him graciously [and] ⁶²turned my favoring countenance upon him.
⁶³A tribute of yearly presents I imposed upon him.

⁶⁴At that time the storehouse-palace which (is) in Nineveh, ⁶⁵which
 Sennacherib, king of Assyria, father of the father who begat me, ⁶⁶had
 erected, had grown old and its base had become shaky, so that ⁶⁷its
 walls were about to collapse. ⁶⁸That storehouse-palace which had
 grown old, ⁶⁹whose foundation was dilapidated—I cleared away its
 ruined parts, ⁷⁰I found its retaining walls. From its foundation ⁷¹to its
 cornice I built it completely. ⁷²Stronger than formerly I made its base.
⁷³A memorial inscribed with my name and the praise of my heroism—
⁷⁴(how) with the help of Ashur, Šin, Šamaš, Bêl, Nabû, ⁷⁵Ishtar of
 Nineveh, Ishtar of Arbela, Ninurta, ⁷⁶Nusku, (and) Nergal I walked
 back and forth in the lands, ⁷⁷established (my) power and authority—
⁷⁸I wrote and left (it) for the days to come. Let a later prince (Let in
 later days (my) sons, grandsons, [son]s, and sons **B** variant) ⁷⁹among my

NOTES FOR COLUMN VIII

³⁶ **A** adds ša (I)u-a-a-te' ina (a-na **A** (var.)) maḥ-ri-šu in-nab-tu.

³⁷⁻³⁷ iš-me-e-ma **A**.

³⁸⁻³⁸ **A** om.

³⁹⁻³⁹ George Smith, *History*, p. 289.

⁴⁰⁻⁴⁰ -an- **A**.

⁴¹⁻⁴¹ a-na šarrāni(meš) abē(meš)-ia (amēlu)mār-šipri-šu **D** **A**.

⁴²⁻⁴² **D**.

⁴³ The writer shares the opinion of Dr. Geers that the word is to be read *mašartu* rather than *maḥirtu* and that the term is to be derived from *ašāru*, "to be concerned about," "to care for," the word which Sennacherib uses to describe the purpose of the structure (*ana šutēšur karāši*; Luckenbill, *Annals of Sennacherib*, p. 128, l. 39; p. 131, l. 55).

⁴⁴ ina **B** (A 7930).

⁴⁵⁻⁴⁵ a-na arkāt amē(me) mārē(meš) mār-mārē(meš) [mārē](meš) ū mārē(meš) **B** (A 7930); [. . .] ū mārē(meš) **B** (105323). For the restoration of A 7930 cf. Th 1929-10-12, 2 vi 28 (p. 4, n. 17).

- 79 ina⁴⁶ šarrâni(meš) mârê(meš)-ia ša ašur u (ilu)ištar
 80 a-na be-lut mâti u nišê(meš)
 81 i-nam-bu-u zi-kir-šu e-nu-ma
 82 êkal ma-šâr-te šu-a-tu i-lab-bi-ru-ma en-na-ḥu
 83 an-ḥu-us-su lu-ud-diš
 84 mu-šar-u ši-ṭir šumi-ia
 85 li-mur-ma šamnê(meš) lip-šu-uš (immeru)niqê liq-q¹
 86⁴⁷ it-ti mu-šar-e ši-ṭir šumi-šu ù šum (I.lilu)šn-aḥḥê(meš)-
 iriba
 87⁴⁸ àb-abi-ia [a-na áš-ri-šu ⁴⁹lu-ti]r-ma⁴⁹ liš-kun ilâni(meš)
 rabûti(meš)
 88 ma-la ina mu-šar-e an-ni-e šaṭ-ru
 89⁵⁰ [⁵¹šarru-us-su lik-tar-ra-bu⁵¹]
 90 [lim-gu]-ru ašri-šu da-na-nu u li-i-tu
 91 ša mu-šar-u ši-ṭir šumi-ia⁵² ib-ba-tu
 92 ⁵³ina mimma ši-pir ni-kil-ti ú-ḥal-^{53a}li^{53a}-qu⁵³
 93 it-ti mu-šar-ri-e ši-[ṭir] šumi-šu la i-šak-ka-nu
 94 ilâni(meš) rabûti(meš) ⁵⁴ša⁵⁴ šamê(e) u iršiti(tim)
 95 ⁵⁵ag-giš li-ru-ru-šu⁵⁵ šarru-us-su lis-ki-pu
 96 šum-šu zêr-šu ina mâti lu-ḥal-li-qu
-
- 97 (arḥu)abu ûmu [. . .](kám)
 98 lim-mu (I)aḥi-ila-a-a
 99 (amêlu)ša-kì[n] (âlu)gar-ga-miš⁵⁶

royal descendants, whose names Ashur and Ishtar ⁸⁰for the dominion of (my) land and people ⁸¹will nominate, when ⁸²that storehouse-palace shall have grown old and dilapidated, ⁸³restore its ruins. ⁸⁴The memorial inscribed with my name ⁸⁵let him behold, anoint (it) with oil, offer sacrifice; ⁸⁶with the memorial inscribed with his name and the name of Sennacherib, ⁸⁷my grandfather, [let him retu]rn (it) [to its place] and set (it) up. May the great gods, ⁸⁸as many as are written in this memorial, ⁸⁹[incline to his majesty,] ⁹⁰[permit] power and strength [to befall his position. ⁹¹Whoso destroys (this) memorial inscribed with my name (**B variant adds:** and the name of [my grandfather]), ⁹²(or) through some deceitful machination permits it to become lost, ⁹³(or) does not set it up beside the memorial insc[ri]bed] with his name —⁹⁴may the great gods of (inhabiting **B variant**) heaven and earth ⁹⁵curse him in wrath, smite down his kingship, ⁹⁶eradicate his name (and) his seed out of the land.

⁹⁷Month of Ab, [. . .]th day, ⁹⁸eponymy of Ahilayya, ⁹⁹vicer[oy] of Carchemish.

NOTES FOR COLUMN VIII

⁴⁶ **B** (105323) om.

⁴⁷ **B** (105323) om. l. 86. For a variant version of ll. 86 ff. as contained in A 7933 see p. 90.

⁴⁸ For variant versions of ll. 87–91 and 87(?)–90, in A 7938 + 105323 and K 1741 respectively, see p. 92.

^{49–49} **B** (A 7937) om.

⁵⁰ For a variant version of ll. 89–93 as contained in A 7937 see p. 90.

^{51–51} Cf. *infra*, K 1741, line e.

⁵² **B** (K 1741) adds *u šu-me* [*āb-abi-ia*].

^{53–53} **B** (A 7935) om.

^{53a–53a} *-la-* **B** (105323).

^{54–54} *a-ši-bu-ti* **B** (A 7937).

^{55–55} [**B** (A 7938)] om.

⁵⁶ Dating of A 7938.

ADDITIONAL DATINGS

[(arḥu) . . . lim-mu (I)aḥi-ila]-a-a

[(amêlu)ša-kîn (âlu)gar]-ga-miš¹

(arḥu)siwân [lim-mu (I) . . .]

(amêlu)ša-kîn (â[lu) . . .]²

(arḥu)du'uzi lim-mu [(I)bêl-šu-nu(?)]

(amêlu)ša-kîn (âlu)ḥ[i](?)-i[n(?)-da-na]³

(arḥu)abu [ûmu . . . (kám)]

lim-mu (I)bêl-šu-nu [(amêlu)ša-kîn (âlu)ḥi-in-da-na]⁴

[arḥu . . .] ûmu 8(k[ám])

[lim-mu (I)bêl]-šu-nu

[(amêlu)ša-kîn (âlu)ḥi]-in-da-na^{4a}

VARIANT CONCLUSIONS⁵

A 7933 (corresponding to ll. 86 ff.)

a [a-na áš-ri-šu lu]-tír ki-i ša a-na-ku

b [mu-šar-u ši-ṭir šu-me (I.ilu)sín-aḥḥê](meš)-irība ʿāb-
abi-ia⁶

c [a-mu-ru-ma šamnê(meš) ap-šu-šu (immeru)niqê aq]-qu-u

d [it-ti mu-šar-e ši-ṭir šumi-ia áš-ku]-nu

[Remainder of column broken off]

A 7937 (corresponding to ll. 89–93)

a [ki-ma ia-a]-ti-ma liz-ku-ru-uš da-na-nu li-i-tu

b [ša mu-šar]-u ši-ṭir šumi-ia ib-ba-tu

c [it-ti mu]-šar-i-šu la i-šak-ka-nu

[ilâni(meš) rabûti(meš) a-ši]-bu-ti šamê(e) etc.

ADDITIONAL DATINGS

[Month of . . . , eponymy of Aḫil]ayya, [viceroyn of Car]chemish.

Month of Siwân, [eponymy of . . .], viceroy of [. . .].

Month of Tammuz, eponymy of [Bêlšunu(?)], viceroy of Ḫi[nda-na(?)].

Month of Ab, [. . . day,] eponymy of Bêlšunu, [viceroyn of Ḫindana].

[Month of . . .], 8t[h] day, [eponymy of Bêl]šunu, [viceroyn of Ḫ]indana.

VARIANT CONCLUSIONS

A 7933

^a[Let him] restore (it) [to its place] even as I ^b[beheld the memorial inscribed with the name of Sennach]erib my grandfather ^c[and anointed (it) with oil and of]fered [sacrifice] ^d[(and) plac]ed (it) [beside the memorial inscribed with my name].

[*Remainder of column broken off*]

A 7937

^aMay they pronounce to him strength (and) authority even [as (they did) to m]e. ^b[Whoso] destroys (this) [memori]al inscribed with my name, ^cdoes not set it up [beside] his own [me]morial—may [the great gods inhab]iting heaven. . . .

NOTES FOR ADDITIONAL DATINGS AND VARIANT CONCLUSIONS

¹ A 7935.

² A 7997.

³ K 1741.

⁴ K 2732.

^{4a} 83-1-18, 602.

⁵ Ll. 86-93 above reproduce essentially the text of A 7935, with the variants of the other fragments noted, as far as possible, in the apparatus. Since for these lines, however, practically every fragment exhibits readings which vary so widely from the text as given and from one another that they cannot be catalogued conveniently, and since it is possible that in one or another case a fragment may eventually prove to contain the lost conclusion of Editions **D** or **K**, these variant passages are herewith reproduced in full as far as they can be reconstructed.

⁶⁻⁶ Prism: *abi-ia-ia*.

A 7938+105323 (corresponding to ll. 87-91)

- a* a-na áš-ri-šu lu-tir [ki-ma ia-a-ši]
- b* mu-šar-u ši-ṭ[ir šu-me] àb-abi ba-ni-ia
- c* a-mu-ru šamnê(meš) ap-šu-[uš (immeru)niqê aq]-qu-u
- d* it-ti mu-šar-e [ši-ṭir šumi]-ia áš-[ku]-nu
- e* at-ta ki-ma ia-[a-ši mu-šar-a]-a a-mur-ma
- f* šamnê(meš) pu-šu-[uš (immeru)niqê] iq-qí
- g* it-ti mu-šar-e [ši-ṭir šumi-ka š]u-kun
- h* ilâni(meš) rabûti(meš) ma-la [ina mu-šar-e an]-ni-e šaṭ-ru
- i* šarru-ut-ka lik-tar-ra-b[u li-iš]-šu-ru palê(meš)-ka
- j* ša mu-šar-u [ši-ṭir šumi-ia]
- k* ù ʾši-ṭir šu-meʾ àb-abi bâni-ia [ib-ba-t]u
ina mimma *etc.*

K 1741 (corresponding to ll. 87?-90)

[*Upper portion of column broken off*]

- a* [ši-ṭir] šumi-ia áš-ku-nu at-ta ki-i [ia-a-ši]
- b* mu-šar-a-a a-mur-ma šamnê(meš) pu-šu-uš [(immeru)-
niqê iq-qí]
- c* it-ti mu-šar-e ši-ṭir šumi-ka [šu-kun]
- d* ilâni(meš) rabûti(meš) ma-la ina mu-šar-e an-ni-e [šaṭ-ru]
- e* šarru-ut-ka lik-tar-ra-bu li-[im-gu]-ru
ša mu-šar-u *etc.*

A 7938+105323

^aLet him return (it) to its place, [even as I] ^bbeheld the memorial insc[ribe]d with the name] of the father of the father who begat me, ^canoin[t]ed (it)] with oil, offe[red sacrifice], ^dplaced (it) beside the memorial [inscribed with] my [name]. ^eDo thou like m[e] behold my [memorial] and ^fanoi[nt] (it)] with oil, offer [sacrifice], ^gplace (it) beside the memorial [inscribed with thy name]. ^h(Then) may the great gods, as many as are written [in this memorial], ⁱinclin[e] to thy kingship (and) [pro]tect thy reign. ^jWhoso [destroy]s (this) memorial [inscribed with my name] ^kand inscribed with the name of the father of the father who begat me, (or) by some deceitful machination. . . .

K 1741

[*Upper portion of column broken off*] beside the memorial ^a[inscribed with] my name I placed (it). Do thou like me ^bbehold my memorial and anoint (it) with oil, [offer sacrifice,] ^c[place] it beside the memorial inscribed with thy name. ^d(Then) may the great gods, as many as are [written] in this memorial, ^eincline and be favo[rab]le to thy kingship. Whoso destroys (this) memorial

 NOTE FOR VARIANT CONCLUSIONS

⁷⁻⁷ *šumi* B (105323).

EDITIONS **B**₂₋₅

Under this head are listed a number of fragments conforming in general to the text-type of **B**, but departing from it at some place, though not sufficiently to warrant positing a separate edition. It may ultimately develop that some of these fragments are parts of one or another parallel edition, such as **D**, **K**, or **C**. All are undated, and their relation to **B** in time cannot be determined. Since there are no additions of more than one line, all have been listed simply as variant editions of **B** and their beginnings and endings indicated in the margin with the usual signs.

B₂.—The only difference from **B** is in v 74, where **B**₂ substitutes for *šamriš tattaši ana aḥāti* the following: *iz-zi-iš na[m-ri-ri-iš tattaši-ma] a-na ka-ša-ad (amēlu)[nakri-ša tallik(ik)]*. The restoration is from K 3040 (*WKA*, p. 73), which exhibits the same peculiarity. **B**₂ is represented by two texts: A 8001, corresponding to **B** iv 51–62 and v 66–79, and K 1704 (*WKA*, pp. 66–67; cf. Bauer, p. 8), corresponding to **B** iii 52–69, iv 59–76, and v 72–83.

B₃.—After **B** vi 51 **B**₃ adds: *qaqqad (I)iš-tar-na-an-di ina kišad [(I)sa-am-gu-nu] aḥi (I)du-na-nu kuṭ-ṭin-n[u a-lul]*. For the restoration see K 4459 (*WKA*, p. 75) and the note *ad loc.* **B**₃ is represented by A 8002, corresponding to **B** v 60–65 and vi 42–59.

B₄.—After **B** ii 65 **B**₄ adds: *[pa-an (iṣu)nī]ri-ia ú-tir-ram-[ma]*. **B**₄ is represented by A 8003, corresponding to **B** ii 55–70.

B₅.—**B** vii 59–60 is inverted in **B**₅, where these two lines read: *e-li ni-kis [qaqqad (I)te-um-man] me-ri-iḥ-[tu] ša iq-[bu-u]*. Two fragments represent **B**₅: A 8004, corresponding to **B** vi 41–46 and vii 49–60, and A 8162, corresponding to **B** vii 54–61.

EDITION D

Date.—None of the preserved fragments of **D** is dated, but since the prism throughout the introduction and historical portion reproduces **B** with scarcely more than orthographic variants, it cannot have been written very much before or after **B**. It is highly probable that the *bît mašarti* and the *dûr qabal âli* were built simultaneously and as a single project. If they were built separately, one would naturally expect the wall to have been built after the palace. The fact that in the one even relatively important variant where we have a check on other prisms, the inverted order of words in **B** viii 54–55, **A** follows **D** rather than **B** might be interpreted as indicating that **D** is the later prism, although too much importance should not be attached to this consideration.

Contents.—**D** is essentially identical with **B** throughout the introduction and historical sections, and has been quoted as a variant of **B** on the preceding pages. The building inscription **D** viii 64–81 follows **B** very closely in its formulas and marks **D** as the foundation deposit of the wall in the midst of the city (*dûr qabal âli*), probably the wall between the storehouse-palace (*bît mašarti*) and the other palace-fortresses of the capital.

Text.—The text-type of Edition **D** is exhibited by the following prism fragments:

A. IN THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

- A 8005 (i 43¹–60, ii 36–74, iii 38–77, iv 49–74, viii 64–66)
A 8006 (i 55–83, viii 53–78)
A 8007 (i 59–63, viii 68–75)
A 8008 (i 62–93, viii 76–81)
A 8009 (vi 27–72, vii 39–84, viii 62–79)
A 8010 (vi 63–68, vii 61–71, viii 65–71)

B. IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

- K 1700 (i 34–64, ii 36–43, iv 63–78, v 51–85 and 88–96, vi 39–72 and 79–82, vii 41–63, viii 43–80). Publication: i 34–50 III R Plate 27, 92–108;

¹ Because of **D**'s close agreement with **B**, its text is quoted in terms of the corresponding lines in **B**.

- i 51-64 Bezold, *Catalogue* I 335; ii 36-43 Bezold, *ibid.*; viii 64-80 George Smith, *History*, pp. 317-19; Bauer, Pls. 13-16 and pp. 24-26.
 K 1731 (i 61-76, ii 64-72, viii 66-79?²) *WKA*, pp. 54-55
 S 2033 (i 48-49, viii 53-66) Bauer, Pl. 51
 81-7-27, 12 (viii 45-56)

C. IN THE IRAQ MUSEUM

- 11528 (i 1-55, ii 27-45, vi 18-39, vii 7-56, viii 8-53). To be published shortly by Dr. R. Campbell Thompson; cf. p. 31, n. 11.

D. IN THE AUTHOR'S POSSESSION³

- P 5 (vi 57-62, vii 53-84, viii 69-83)

² Unwarrantedly used to reconstruct the conclusion of C (Streck, *Assurbanipal*, p. xxix).

³ See p. 3, n. 12.

*Column i*1-93 **B i** 1-9394-99 [*Missing*]*Column ii*1-26 [*Missing*]27-74 **B ii** 27-7475-99 [*Missing*]*Column iii*1-37 [*Missing*]38-77 **B iii** 38-7778-99 [*Missing*]*Column iv*1-48 [*Missing*]49-78 **B iv** 49-7879-99 [*Missing*]*Column v*1-49 [*Missing*]50-85 **B v** 50-8586 [*Missing*]87-96 **B v** 87-9697-99 [*Missing*]*Column vi*1-17 [*Missing*]18-72 **B vi** 18-7273-78 [*Missing*]79-82 **B vi** 79-8283-99 [*Missing*]*Column vii*1-6 [*Missing*]7-84 **B vii** 7-8485-99 [*Missing*]

Column viii

1-7 [Missing]

8-63 B viii 8-63

- 64 ina ûmê(me)-šu-ma dûr qabal âli ša ninua(ki)
 65 ša (I.ilu)sîn-ahhê(meš)-irîba šâr (mātu)ašur(ki) 1^{ab}-abi¹
 66 2^{ba}-ni-ia² e-pu-šu 3^{ša} ina zunnê 4^{taḥ}-du-u-ti ra-a-di gap-šu-u-ti
 67 ša šat-ti-šam-ma ina palê-ia (ilu)adad ú-maṭ-ṭi-ra ina mâti-ia
 68 tim-me-en-šu ir-bu-4^{ub}4^{ma} i-qu-pa ri-ša-a-šu
 69 dûru šu-a-tu ša la-ba-riš illiku(ku) e-na-ḥu ušši-šu
 70 mi-qit-ta-šu ad-ki ak-šu-da a-sur-ru-šu⁵
 71 [6ⁱ-n⁶]a aban ša[di]-i tim-me-en-[6^{šu} e-puš⁶]
 72 [. . .]-en(?) dûri šu-a-tu [. . .]
 73 [. . .] akšudu(du) [. . .]
 74 ultu ušši-šu a-di gaba-dib-7^{bi}-e⁷-šu ar-ṣip ú-šak-lil
 75 eli ša ûmê(me) pa-ni ú-dan-ni-na tim-me-en-šu
 76 mu-šar-ru ši-ṭir šumi-ia u ta-nit-ti qar-ra-du-ti-ia
 77 ša [ina tukul-ti ašur (ilu)sîn (ilu)šamaš (ilu)bêl (ilu)nabû
 78 (ilu)ištar ša (âlu)ninua(ki)(ilu)ištar ša (âlu)arba-ilu (ilu)nînurta
 79 (ilu)nusku (ilu)nergal ina mâtâte at-tal-la-ku [8^{áš}-ku-nu⁸]
 80 da-na-nu u li-i-tu áš-ṭur-ma ana [8^{ah}-rat ûmê⁸](me) e-zib
 81 [8^{rubû} arku(u) ina šarrâni(meš) mârê(meš)-ia⁸] ša ašur u (ilu)ištar
 82 [8^a-na be-lut mâti u nišê(meš) i-nam-bu-u zi-kir-šu⁸] e-nu-ma
 83 dûru [8^{šu}-a-tu i-lab-bi-ru-ma en-na-ḥu⁸]

[Remainder of column missing]

⁶⁴In those days the wall in the midst of the city of Nineveh, ⁶⁵which Sennacherib, king of Assyria, father of the father ⁶⁶who begat me, had erected; whose base through the abundant showers and heavy rains ⁶⁷that Adad had yearly sent down upon my land during my reign ⁶⁸had become shaky so that its turrets were on the verge of falling—⁶⁹that wall, which had grown old and whose foundation had become dilapidated—⁷⁰I cleared away its fallen portions, I discovered its retaining walls. ⁷¹[I made its] base [o]f mount[ain] stone ⁷²[. . .] of that wall [. . .] ⁷³[. . .] I attained [. . .]. ⁷⁴From its foundation to its cornice I built (it) completely. ⁷⁵Stronger than before I made its base. ⁷⁶A memorial inscribed with my name and the praise of my heroism—⁷⁷that with the help of Ashur, Šin, Šamaš, Bēl, Nabû, ⁷⁸Ishtar of Nineveh, Ishtar of Arbela, Ninurta, ⁷⁹Nusku, (and) Nergal I walked about in the lands (and) [established] ⁸⁰(my) power and authority—I wrote and left for [day]s [to come]. ⁸¹[(Let) a distant prince among the kings, my descendants,] whom Ashur and Ishtar ⁸²[will nominate to dominion over land and people], when ⁸³[this] wall [becomes old and dilapidated]

[*Remainder of column missing*]

NOTES FOR COLUMN VIII

¹⁻¹ D (K 1700) adds *-ia*; text: *db-[i]a-ia*.

²⁻² D (K 1700) om.

³⁻³ D (A 8006) om.

⁴⁻⁴ *-bu-* D (K 1731).

⁵ D (A 8006, A 8007, A 8009, P 5, K 1731?) om. ll. 71-73; text: D (A 8010, K 1700).

⁶ Conjectural.

⁷⁻⁷ D (A 8009) om.

⁸⁻⁸ B.

EDITION K

Date.—Although the date of K 1703, the only representative of **K**¹ now available, has not been preserved, there are at least two considerations which speak for a date posterior to that of Editions **B** and **D**: (1) The embassy of Rusâ of Armenia (**K** iii 21–24) is not mentioned in the other editions; and since Ashurbanipal thought this mission of sufficient importance to commemorate it on a slab in his palace,² it is improbable that he would so soon have omitted it if **K** were earlier than **B** and **D**. (2) The siege of Babylon seems to have entered upon its last stage when **K** was written (**K** iv 20–22), if indeed the missing portion did not actually report the city's fall, whereas when **B** and **D** were written the War of the Brothers was still undecided. We have consequently in the fall of Babylon (some time after Tammuz, 648) a rough date for **K**. If the assumption that **K** was written after the death of Šamaššumukin is correct, this would become a *terminus post quem*. A *terminus ante quem* would be the composition of **C**, which belongs between **K** and **F** (645). In view of the introduction to **C**, which agrees to a large extent with that of Th 1929–10–12, 2 (also 645), it will probably be best to assign **C** to 646.³ We have thus late 648 or 647 as the probable date of **K**.

Contents.—Columns i and ii and all but the last four lines of column iii agree with the corresponding sections of **B**, with only orthographic variations; iii 21–24 brings the account (or at least its beginning) of the embassy of Rusâ; and iv 1–22 describes the progress of the War of the Brothers, the defeat of Indabigaš, and the horrors of the siege of Babylon.⁴

Text.—**K** is thus far represented only by K 1703 (i 1–10; ii 1–22; iii 1–24; iv 1–22), *WKA*, pp. 76–78; cf. Bauer, p. 8.

¹ Bauer's **G** (pp. 8, 28); "**K**" was chosen when this study was initiated, to avoid confusion with the series of letters assigned to the various editions by Professor Olmstead in chapter vii of his *Historiography*.

² George Smith, *History*, pp. 146–47.

³ The eponymy of [Adad]nadinahi(?). A 8104, which is possibly a **C** fragment, is dated in this eponymy.

⁴ Hereto see IV R No. 93, dated in the twentieth year of Šamaššumukin (648), Ayyaru 29.

*Column i**[Top of column broken off]*1-10¹ B iv 31-37*[Remainder of column missing]**Column ii**[Top of column broken off]*

1-22 B v 39-55

*[Remainder of column missing]**Column iii**[Top of column broken off]*

1-20 B vi 65-82

21 [ina ûmé(me)-šu-ma¹ ²(I)ru-sa-a²] šār (mātu)ur-ar-ṭi22 [²da-na-an ilāni(meš) bêlê²](meš)-ia iš-me-e-ma23 [²pu-luḫ-tu šarrû-ti-ia is-ḫu-up²]-šu-ma24 [²(amêlu)rabûte(meš) a-na ša-'al šul-me-ia iš-pu-ra ana qî²]-rib
arba-ilu(ki)*[Remainder of column missing]**Column iv*

1 (iṣu)qašâti(meš) ša (I)tam-ma-ri-tu [. . .]

2 qî-rib (mātu)elamti(ki) uš-[¹man-nu id-du-u¹]

3 a-na mit-ḫu-ši [. . .]

4 e-nin-na qî-rib (mātu)aš-šur(ki) (iṣu)qaš[âti(meš)?^{1a} . . .]

5 uq-ṭa-na-ar-ra-ba a-[. . .]

6 ašur (ilu)sîn (ilu)šamaš (ilu)bêl [(ilu)nabû]

7 (ilu)ištar ša (âlu)ninua (ilu)šar-rat kid-mu-ri [(ilu)ištar ša (âlu)arba-
ilu]8 (ilu)nfnurta (ilu)nusku (ilu)nergal ša (amêlu)nakrê(meš)-[^{1a}i i-ni-
ru¹]9 ù si-it-tu-ti im-[^{1a}nu-u qât(II)-u-a . . . ^{1a}]10 ú-bi-šu² (I.ilu)šamaš-[³suma-ukin aḫu la ki-e-nu³]11 ù nišê(meš) (mātu)akkadî(ki) ma-la [³ib-bal-ki-tu³]12 ša ia-a-ti ú-[³nak-ki-ru³]13 it-ti (I)um-man-i-gaš [⁴iš-ku-nu pi-i-šu-un⁴]

14 (I)in-da-bi-gaš iš-[. . .]

15 e-gu-ug-ma ašu[r . . .]

16 iq-ba-a sa-pa-aḫ [⁵mâti-šu⁵ . . .]

17 áš-šu da-na-an (ilu)[. . .]

18 ù pu-luḫ-ta-šu (mātu)[. . .]

19 e-mid-su še-rit-⁶[su rabîtu(tu)⁶ . . .]

20 nišê(meš) (mātu)akkadî(ki) ša [. . .]

21 âkilûti(meš) šêrê(meš) u ^{1a}mi[m-ma^{1a} . . .]22 ú-ša-qir [⁷a-na pi-i-šu-nu⁷ . . .]*[Remainder of column missing]*

Column iii

²¹[In those days Rusâ], king of Armenia, ²²[heard of the might of the gods], my [lord]s, and ²³[the terrible splendor of my majesty overcame] him, so that ²⁴[he sent nobles to me t]o Arbela [to ask my health].

[*Remainder of column missing*]

Column iv

[*Top of column missing*] ¹The archers of Tammaritu [. . .] ²[pitched] c[amp] in Elam ³to make war on [. . .]. ⁴Meanwhile in Assyria bo[ws . . .]. ⁵I was drawing up [. . .] t[o(?) . . .]. ⁶Ashur, Sîn, Šamaš, Bêl, [Nabû,] ⁷Ishtar of Nineveh, the Queen of Kidmuri, [Ishtar of Arbela,] ⁸Ninurta, Nusku, Nergal, who [smote down my] enemies ⁹and cou[n]ted the remnant [into my hands . . .], ¹⁰confounded Šamaš[šumukin, the faithless brother], ¹¹and the people of Akkad, as many as [had revolted], ¹²who had [been hostile] to me (and) ¹³[had made common cause] with Ummanigaš. ¹⁴Indabigaš [. . .] ¹⁵became angry, and Ashu[r . . .] ¹⁶decreed the destruction of [his land. . .]. ¹⁷On account of the might of [. . .] ¹⁸and his terrible splendor, the land of [. . .]—¹⁹he laid upon it [its heavy] punishment [. . .]. ²⁰The people of Akkad who [. . .] ²¹eating the flesh and [whatever . . .]—²²I made precious [to their mouth . . .]

[*Remainder of column missing*]

NOTE FOR COLUMN I

¹ Lines are numbered from the first one which has an identifiable sign; columns are numbered from the first column preserved.

NOTES FOR COLUMN III

¹⁻¹ Conjectural.

²⁻² Cf. III R 37, No. 1, 3-6; also George Smith, *History*, p. 147.

NOTES FOR COLUMN IV

¹⁻¹ Conjectural; cf. K 3405 Rev. 2 (Streck, *Assurbanipal*, p. 224).

^{1a-1a} Conjectural; cf. Bauer, p. 8, n. 4.

² Or *ú-kaš-šu*, "they gave"?

³⁻³ Conjectural.

⁴⁻⁴ Conjectural; cf. B i 97.

⁵⁻⁵ Conjectural; cf. K 2631 Obv. 17 (George Smith, *History*, p. 251) and Streck, *Assurbanipal*, p. 176, note c.

⁶⁻⁶ Conjectural; cf. B iv 66 and Streck, p. 176, note d.

⁷⁻⁷ Conjectural; cf. B ii 49.

APPENDIX

THE LUNAR ECLIPSE OF JULY 13, 653 B.C.

BY THE REVEREND JOACHIM MAYR

Walchsee, Tyrol, Austria

In the account of Ashurbanipal's second Elamite campaign the following reference to a lunar eclipse occurs:

EDITION B

Column v

- 3 (I)te-um-man li-mut-tu
- 4 iš-te-ni-'-a (ilu)sîn iš-te-ni-'-šu
- 5 itât(meš) (šal)limutti ina (arḫu)du'ûzi attalû šat ur-ri adi nûri
- 6 uš-ta-ni-iḫ-ma (ilu)šamaš e-mur-šu-ma ki-ma šu-a-tu-ma
- 7 kal ûmê(me) uš-ta-ni-iḫ a-na qí-it palê(e)
- 8 šâr (mātu)elamti(ki) ḫalaq mâti-šu

The translation of this passage is complicated by the uncertainty which attaches to the meaning of *uštaniḫ*, a form of the verb *naḫu*, "to rest":

Teumman plotted evil. Sîn planned for him portents of evil. (There was) an eclipse in the month of Tammuz during the last night watch until sunrise. (The moon) *uštaniḫ*, (so that) Šamaš saw it and like him *uštaniḫ* all (those) days, to presage the end of the reign of the king of Elam (and) the destruction of his land.

Even if the meaning of *uštaniḫ* in the foregoing cannot be definitely decided, no doubt can attach to the fact that an eclipse of the moon took place in the month of Tammuz around sunrise. Tammuz is the third month after Nisan, which begins with the new moon about the time of the vernal equinox. Between 701 and 601 B.C. the equinox fell on March 28. The extreme limits for the full moon in Tammuz during this period are consequently July 1 and August 15. As far as the year is concerned, the eclipse must have taken place after the death of Urtaku (*ca.* 665) and before the beginning of the hostilities between Ashurbanipal and Šamaššumukin (Tebet 19, 651).

Between January 1, 665, and Tebet 19, 651, the following thirty lunar eclipses took place:

1. 665 March 29
2. 665 August 24, 18^h24^m, Arbela Time
3. 664 February 27
4. 664 August 14, 2^h49^m, Arbela Time
5. 663 February 7
6. 663 August 3, 3^h6^m, Arbela Time
7. 662 January 28
8. 662 July 23, 6^h58^m, Arbela Time
9. 661 January 7
10. 661 June 12
11. 661 December 6
12. 660 June 2
13. 660 December 25
14. 659 May 22
15. 659 November 15
16. 658 May 12
17. 658 October 6
18. 657 March 31
19. 657 September 24
20. 656 March 20
21. 656 September 14
22. 655 March 10
23. 655 September 3
24. 654 February 27
25. 654 July 24, 23^h31^m, Arbela Time
26. 653 January 19
27. 653 July 13, 4^h15^m, Arbela Time
28. 652 January 7
29. 652 July 2, 17^h2^m, Arbela Time
30. 652 December 27

The time given for some of these eclipses refers to their midpoint. Consequently the following four eclipses are the only ones which can claim consideration as having taken place about sunrise between July 1 and August 15:

4. 664 August 14; midpoint: 2^h49^m; total eclipse possible, partial eclipse certain
6. 663 August 3; midpoint: 3^h6^m; total eclipse possible, partial eclipse certain
8. 662 July 23; midpoint: 6^h58^m; partial eclipse possible
27. 653 July 13; midpoint: 4^h15^m; total eclipse possible, partial eclipse certain

Of these, eclipses 4 and 8 may be eliminated from further consideration. When there is a full moon on August 14, Nisan 1 must fall on about May 5, more than thirty days after the equinox; furthermore, exact calculation indicates a partial eclipse of 7.2 inches, coming to an end about 4^h11^m, or nearly an hour before sunrise. The eclipse of July 23, 662, if it ever occurred, must have been very slight and began long after sunrise.

Thus there remain the eclipse of August 3, 663, which Kugler takes as the eclipse of our text, and the eclipse of July 13, 653. Historically 653 fits the facts far better than 663, and exact calculation proves that astronomically the same is true.

The results which follow have been secured with the help of Neugebauer's well known astronomical tables, and they agree with independent calculations made by Professor Neugebauer in Berlin, thus insuring against the possibility of errors in calculation. The dependability of the tables is likewise raised above question, since they embody the empirical corrections of Schoch, which are accurate to the minute even for eclipses in ancient times. Arbela has been taken as the point of observation, but the results would not be essentially different had Nineveh been chosen instead. The eclipse of 663 was total, while that of 653 was a partial eclipse of 9.4 inches; that is, more than three-quarters of the moon's face was obscured by the shadow of the earth.

	August 3, 663	July 13, 653
Beginning of the partial eclipse.....	1 ^h 8 ^m	2 ^h 43 ^m
Beginning of the total eclipse.....	2 ^h 13 ^m	
End of the total eclipse.....	3 ^h 59 ^m	
End of the partial eclipse.....	5 ^h 4 ^m	5 ^h 47 ^m
Sunrise (upper rim).....	4 ^h 56 ^m	4 ^h 47 ^m
Setting of the moon (upper rim).....		4 ^h 49 ^m
	True time, Arbela	

Calculation of the setting of the moon for August 3, 663, is unnecessary, since the words of the text, "Šamaš saw it," do not apply, the partial eclipse coming to an end only eight minutes after sunrise, beyond the possibility of perception by mere rough observation. The situation is altogether different in the case of the eclipse of July 13, 653. There the eclipse reached its maximum at 4^h15^m, thirty-two min-

utes before sunrise, and came to an end only an hour after sunrise. The moon set two minutes after sunrise, or, to speak more exactly, while the sun was coming up over the horizon in the east, the half-obscured disk of the moon was sinking below the western horizon. Thus the sun "saw" the eclipsed moon. There is consequently no reason astronomically to doubt that our text refers to the eclipse of July 13, 653.

But what does *uštaniḥ* mean? Father Schaumberger of Munich informs me in a letter that *uštaniḥ* occurs a single time in the sense of "set," but that this rendering is not entirely certain. In our text *uštaniḥ* occurs twice in close succession, and we may properly conclude that in both cases it has essentially the same meaning. The translation would read accordingly: "In the month of Tammuz, in the last night watch, (there was) an eclipse until sunrise. As he (the moon-god) set, Šamaš saw it, and like him he (the sun-god) set all (those) days."

How the sun could set like the moon all those days is unintelligible. The text cannot mean that the sun and the moon both set at the same point on the horizon, for in July the sun sets in the northwest and the moon goes down in the southwest. Consequently "set" as the meaning for *uštaniḥ* seems inapplicable in this passage.

Bezold gives the following equivalent for the III/II₂ of *nāḫu* (*Babylonisch-assyrisches Glossar*, s.v.): "Die Tätigkeit einstellen, nicht scheinen (Mond)." Hence we should possibly translate our text: "(Because of) an eclipse in the month of Tammuz during the last night watch until sunrise (the moon) did not shine. The sun saw this and like it it also did not shine all (those) days, to presage the end of the reign. . . ."

It would not be impossible to refer this to a period of cloudy weather, which follows rather frequently upon a change of moon. Astrology may have attached some significance to the sun's becoming invisible as a result of clouds. Until more light has been shed on the meaning of *uštaniḥ*, it is doubtful whether a more satisfactory translation will be found. This uncertainty, however, does not affect the fact that the eclipse in question can only be that of July 13, 653.

In line 15 of the same column it is stated that Ashurbanipal was in Arbela "in Ab, the month of the rising of the Bow," *ina (arḫu)abi*

arah na-an-mur-ti kakkab qašti. The Bow consists of the stars ϵ δ τ Canis Majoris and κ ι Puppis. According to Kugler (*Ergänzungen* to his *Sternkunde und Sterndienst in Babel* [Münster in Westfalen, 1913] p. 48) the heliacal rising of the Bow is as follows:

ϵ Canis Majoris on Ab 5
 ι Puppis on Ab 15

This holds for the middle of Ab around 500 B.C. In 653 B.C. the Bow rose heliacally from the fifth to the tenth of August, and Ab fell within the period from the end of July to the end of August.

Although the periodicity of Schoch's Babylonian calendar can hardly be traced back historically to this early date, it is significant to note that according to his calculations July 13, 653, fell on Tammuz 13, while August 3, 663, fell on Ab 13. Thus the eclipse on the latter date loses all claim to consideration.

